

# MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXXI

*November 1933*

NUMBER 2

## GEOFFREY AND KING ARTHUR IN NORMANNICUS DRACO

[Concluded]

### V

Now what is the nature of the Arthur who reigns over such an outlandish realm? How would he appear to the more sophisticated Normans of the twelfth century? He appears at first to be a Man of Destiny—*fatorum lege perennis*, dealing *fatalia jura*, bound by *coelica fata*; Henry avers he might die, *ni sibi fata darent*, and mockingly grants him *fatorum lege perennis*, and that he *vivat fato*.<sup>1</sup> This sounds flattering, and is all very fine. Stephen is given to repetition; but so much repetition makes one suspicious. By all this show of destiny he means more, or less, than the "Breton hope" and a Breton messiahship. One's suspicion is confirmed by more ambiguous repetition. Arthur has been healed by *herbis fatalibus*; he is *fatatus*, *inermis*; his military forces are much the same—

Nam fatata cohors, at impenetrabilis armis,  
Quaelibet obtruncat, pervia cuncta facit.  
Sic ferus Æacides, si corporis inviolata  
Pars sibi quoque foret, degeret ipse diu.  
En mea classis adest, sed classis tota perennis.<sup>2</sup>

If not purely immaterial, they are vaguely the next thing to it. *Herbae fatales* can hardly be anything but magical or fairy plants. As to *fatatus*, it is true this rare word sometimes means 'doomed' or

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 969, 1171, 1206; 1246, 1251, 1257.

<sup>2</sup> 968-69 (heading), 1165, 1197-1201.

'granted,' and not enough cases are recorded for certainty. But the Italian *fatato* is used by Ariosto and others for 'impenetrable' or 'enchanted.' The Old Spanish *fadado*, *hadado*, means 'fairy' or 'enchanted.'<sup>3</sup> What is more, *Morganda fatata* for Morgain la Fée shows the meaning 'fairy' or 'befairied.'<sup>4</sup> Everyone knows the attempts of the medievals to unify knowledge by identifying their own ancestral mythology with the classical and the Christian. Fairies are fallen angels, or nymphs, or dryads, or *fatales deae*, or *fatae*, or *fadae*.<sup>5</sup> *Fata* means not only *fates* but *fay*, and is the origin of *fed*, *fée*, *fata*, *fada* in the Romanic languages. Any speaker of French and Latin would know this. Morgain la Fée, Fata Morgana, is not the only one. In Walter Map's *De nugis* three times *fatalitas* means 'fairy nature' or 'fairy descent,'<sup>6</sup> and in another passage a *fatis* probably means 'by the fairies.'<sup>7</sup> A clearer case is in Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Troiana*.<sup>8</sup> It is even probable that Stephen, who was far from stupid, was deliberately playing with double meanings. The line was not always sharp between witches, fairies, ghosts, and minor spiritual beings of various backgrounds. Accordingly Arthur is attempting, says Henry, to terrorize the Normans by magic charms; in vain, for they cannot be bewitched (1236-37). One difficulty for the scientific modern world in understanding the medievals (even sometimes the scholastics) is that at many points they had not arrived at discrimination and definition where we have. It is often the differences between two things which we see, where they saw only the resemblances; and ideas clean cut to us had misty edges to them. The only realm (except the

<sup>3</sup> The word seems absent from French, for obvious phonetic reasons, unless one of the sources of *fée*.

<sup>4</sup> In Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imp.* (ca. 1212); see the passage in Miss Paton, *Fairy Myth. of Arth. Rom.*, p. 35; Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1844), I, 384.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm, *D. Myth.*, I, 382-85; Wireker, *Spec. stult.* in *Anglo-Lat. Satir. Poets* ("Rolls Ser.," No. 59), I, 125—genuine fays interpreted as the Parcae; a *fada* is a kind of larva, which means an illusion of a human being addicted to love affairs with men, pretty much a fay (Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imp.*, ed. F. Liebrecht [Hanover, 1856], pp. 39-41).

<sup>6</sup> II, 12, 17; IV, 6 (ed. M. R. James, pp. 76, 81, 168; "Camden Soc.," L, 81, 85, 162). James so translates it each time in his English version ("Cymmrodorion Soc." [London, 1923]). Tupper and Ogle (London, 1924) so translate it the first time; second, 'his nature half-divine.' Note that the second passage is speaking of the *fatalitatem* of Achilles, because of his nymph-mother, and that Arthur above says Achilles might have been like him.

<sup>7</sup> IV, 8 (James, p. 174); Map clearly believed this Breton anecdote.

<sup>8</sup> When the sister of King Menon vanishes, the author comments: "Hanc nonnulli dixerunt fuisse deam uel dee filiam, uel vnam ex illis quam gentes fatam appellant" (end of Book XXXIV, in N. E. Griffin's forthcoming edition, to be published by the Mediaeval Academy of America).

religious) of what we call supernatural beings which could be plausibly drawn from in the twelfth century was fairydom. Arthur, though of human parents, had been conceived through magic, had had an extraordinary career, and when he ought to be dead was held to be still alive somewhere and destined to return. Fairy now, if not fairy always, was to Stephen as good a word for him as any. If ever there was a fairy knight, it is Stephen's Arthur.

I have mentioned Arthur's sister, commonly called Morgain la Fée, who clinches the matter. Among the fairy herbs of *Avallonis sacra insula*, according to Stephen,

Suscipit hic fratrem Morganis nympa perennis,  
Curat, alit, fovet, perpetuumque facit [1063-64].

The final phrase suggests that she conferred on a mortal brother her own immortality—how got we are not told. Aside from her usual fay epithet,<sup>9</sup> in a familiar passage Gerald de Barri tells how the *fabulosi Britones* and their bards used to invent tales of Arthur and *dea quaedam phantastica* named Morganis.<sup>10</sup> The word *nympa* is not common in the Middle Ages, but is so natural for 'fay' that we are not surprised to find early Danish and English writers equating Parca and nymph with Norn and Valkyrie,<sup>11</sup> and that the nymphs are the fairies of modern Greece. *Nymphae* are among the beings in classical mythology, according to Martianus Capella's account,<sup>12</sup> who have the traits of fays. What is more to the point, in Froissart's fourteenth-century Arthurian romance *Méliador*, the knight Saigremor, ravished by three ladies, *nimphes et pucelles a Dyane*, is later said to have been *pris des fées*.<sup>13</sup> The *Gesta regum Britanniae*, the thirteenth-century verse version of Geoffrey, does not name Morgain, but calls her a *nimpha*,<sup>14</sup> it is not certain whether its author used Stephen or not. Stephen's knowledge of the *Vita Merlini* we have seen to be more probable. Morgen here is clearly a fay, shifting her shape, flying like Daedalus, transporting herself instantly where she will, teaching

\* Early case in Chrétien's *Erec* (ed. W. Foerster [Halle, 1890]), I. 1957, earlier than the *Draco*. In *Erec* she is mistress of the lord of Avalon, and (l. 4218) Arthur's sister. She is not in Benoit's *Troie*, as often said to be, except in two (bad) texts out of twenty (ed. L. Constans, "Soc. anc. t. fr.," I. 8024).

<sup>9</sup> *Spec. eccles.*, II, 9 ("Rolls Ser.," IV, 48).

<sup>11</sup> Grimm, *D. Myth.*, I, 387, 389.

<sup>12</sup> *De nuptiis*, II, toward the end (p. 45).

<sup>13</sup> Ed. A. Longnon ("Soc. anc. textes franc." [1895-99]), II. 28823 ff., 30343.

<sup>14</sup> L. 4225 (ed. Francisque-Michel, "Cambrian Archaeol. Assoc." [1862]).

*mathematicam* to her sisters; this word—meaning ‘magic,’ of course—illustrates the vagueness already mentioned in the idea of the fay.<sup>15</sup> The fay Arthur then has a fay sister; and fay troops as well, for though Stephen has got fun by giving Arthur a realm in which Skiapodes and their brethren might well be pictured, it was made clear that his troops at least are of like nature with himself. The bearing of all this on Stephen’s attitude is plain. Belief in fairies was most lively among the ignorant, and was most associated with folk stories. Though it is visible in the near background of sophisticated Arthurian romance, and is recognized by some cultivated Latin writers, and though even a superior Norman monk probably had not abandoned it, his turning of a great historical personage in a prosaic historical poem into a fay can be understood in only one manner.

It is not hard to see where all this came from. Arthur himself is found as a fay nowhere else, but even in other writings of the same time he is in dubious company. In Marie de France’s *Lanval* one of his knights has a fairy mistress, who with her damsels appears at his court, and takes her lover away to Avallon, the fairy realm. Marie is believed to have lived at Henry II’s court, and to have written her lays in the middle sixties. About the same time, in eastern France, Chrétien de Troyes was writing Arthurian romances with fairy background of which the author was aware—recently rationalized fays, fairy objects and events, generally believed to be of Celtic origin; notably *Lancelot* (1165–72) and *Yvain* (1169–73).<sup>16</sup> No one believes that these sprang into existence from sheer invention. It would not be plausible to suggest that any of these directly influenced or was influenced by the Arthur episode in the *Draco*. All point to unshaped beliefs and impressions taken seriously by the Bretons and less so by their neighbors, perhaps to hearsay narratives or recited poems, and perhaps to older and mostly lost written works (including probably the *Vita Merlini*). Three points may be regarded as certain. The learned elements in Stephen’s episode were contributed by him or to him by people he knew—the detailed comparisons of Arthur to Alexander, and above all the Antipodes, the location of *insula Avalonis* near them, and the military journey from there. Secondly, the

<sup>15</sup> LL. 918–26; shown also in various passages in Kittredge’s *Witchcraft*.

<sup>16</sup> I refer to Carl Voretzsch, *Introd. to O. Fr. Lit.*, and references given there.



fairy and Celtic elements, the marvelous Arthur and his perennial life, Morganis and *insula Avallonis*, owe nothing whatever to him except the location of the last, and probably the clear fairy nature of Arthur. Even this, in a less cleanly defined way, may probably have been so far the aspect of him previously known to Stephen as to make the transition easy. These two contributions were meant to pull down Arthur's dignity. Otherwise Stephen took his Celtic elements ready-made. From the first to the last his extant writings are nothing if not matter of fact and unimaginative: compliments, old ideas, known events, dressed up with little originality except in clever quips and rhetoric. A Latin-literary, aristocratic-ambitious Norman monk in the 1160's would have for such Celtic tales nothing but indifference if not contempt, unless merely introducing them almost unchanged with a light purpose. And, thirdly, all the indications show that these elements came to him from Brittany. It is true that Bec had relations with England, that the little court of Matilda at the priory of Blessed Mary de Prato<sup>17</sup> may have contained islanders, and that the court of Henry even when in Normandy contained them. But not only must island Celts have been scarce there; so must such people as Marie de France, whether her material came to her from Britain or Brittany. On the other hand, the abrupt and startling Arthur episode appears in the *Draco* just when the storm center is Brittany, and in the poem it is a Breton enemy of Henry who introduces Arthur as a Breton ally. In spite of the reminiscences of Geoffrey, he is a Breton Arthur and not an insular.

## VI

If Stephen's Arthur is himself ridiculous, he can be used for ridiculing somebody associated with him, namely, the actual person who brings him into the picture, Rollandus, *consul tunc Britonum, quidam comes Britonum* (945 ff.). Mr. Fletcher may well call him "possibly an historical character," for he was one of the more prominent people in Henry's struggle with Brittany. A short account will knit the matter up.

To execute their very obvious ambition of extending their dominions and providing sovereignties for their children, the Norman and Angevin kings relied so far as they could on prudent marriages

<sup>17</sup> See p. 123 below.

and diplomacy; not refusing, however, to back these up by force. Accordingly, after aiding Conan IV, the feeble duke of Brittany, against his enemies, King Henry in 1166 arranged for a marriage between his third living son Geoffrey and Conan's heiress Constance, and for the recognition of Geoffrey as the heir to the province, and of himself meanwhile as the ruler of it. While all this enrages modern Bretons<sup>1</sup> whose patriotism is stronger than their comprehension of feudalism, there was no Norman outrage in this settlement. But the age-long bitterness, among other things, between the Normans and the Bretons produced many rebellions, of which the first was that in 1167 mentioned by Stephen, who as a Norman neighbor with powerful friends was well informed. Among the important leaders was Rollandus lord of Dinan. He was no mere provincial Breton. Between 1157-58 and 1187-88, according to the pipe rolls, Rollandus de Dinan held (at first increasingly) extensive and lucrative lands in nine counties in England.<sup>2</sup> His identity with the man who appears in the chronicles (if anyone could doubt it) is shown by the facts that in Robert of Torigni appear together (p. 236) "Oliverus filius Oliveri de Dinam, et Rollandus consobrinus ejus," that, according to the pipe rolls, Oliverus held lands in two of the same counties as Rollandus, and that both were in royal disfavor in 1168-69.<sup>3</sup> That he is the Rollandus who according to Stephen was embroiled with Henry in 1167 is shown in the pipe rolls for 1167-69 by the seizure of much of this land into the king's hand and by the sale of its chattels.<sup>4</sup> Though Stephen's Rollandus is not called of Dinan, and though his name was not rare in Brittany, the titles Stephen gives him, *consul* and *comes*, point to a man highly placed,<sup>5</sup> and we learn of no other such Rollandus. In 1168-69, according to Robert of Torigni, Rollandus refused obedience to Henry, suffered from him the loss of his Breton castles of Bécherel and Léhon, and the ravaging of the lands about Dinan, but finally

<sup>1</sup> On all this see especially A. de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, III (Rennes and Paris, 1899), 272 ff.; Kate Norgate, *England under Angevin Kings* (London, 1887), II, 57-58; J. H. Ramsey, *Angevin Empire* (London, 1903), pp. 89 ff.; L. F. Salzman, *Henry II* (Boston, 1914), pp. 44 ff.; *DNB* ("Geoffrey," "Henry").

<sup>2</sup> *Great Rolls of the Pipe*, ed. Jos. Hunter (London, 1844), and "Pipe Roll Soc." (London, 1884—).

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Rolls, 15 Henry II, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 14 Henry II, pp. 51, 101, 125, 140; 15 Henry II, 2, 48, 56, 144.

<sup>5</sup> Conan and Geoffrey themselves are each called *comes* (Rob. Tor., pp. 228, 267, 302).

submitted.<sup>6</sup> After 1168-69, though he held less land in England, there are no more punitive entries, and by 1173 he seems thoroughly reconciled. In 1175, when Henry established Geoffrey in Brittany, he assigned him "Rollandum de Dinam, ut esset procurator terrae suae"—seneschal, says De la Borderie; and he wrote in 1177 to "Rollando de Dinamno, justitiae Britanniae," to see to the restitution of a certain relic filched from Cornwall, which he forcibly did.<sup>7</sup> These appointments as seneschal and justicer (which normally went together)<sup>8</sup> seem to have confirmed Rollandus' loyalty to Henry, for when Geoffrey and his father fell out, the Breton apparently adhered to the latter, and in 1182 suffered the burning of his castle of Bécherel by the son.<sup>9</sup> In 1189-90 his son Alanus holds his English land,<sup>10</sup> and we may assume that he was dead. This is all we learn about him, being no European figure, and Breton documents being brief and scarce. From the foregoing no one can certainly infer in him any treachery or folly; or any excessive ambition, even though he seems to have accepted under Henry the very office of seneschal which Stephen jokingly gives him under Arthur eight years earlier; all this may simply indicate a patriotic Breton who bowed to the inevitable, held to the more effective ruler (as General Smuts did in our day), and was rewarded by him, but who at first had stood off from the encroaching Norman duke.

A Norman's attitude to this man in 1167 could only have been unfavorable, and at this moment Stephen would be in a position to hear all about him from the king and the king's suite.<sup>11</sup> What is especially clear is that Stephen is ridiculing him. While the Bretons are scuttling away over streams and through woods (944), *Arturi dapifer* writes his frightened letter "to his king, the threefold king" of

<sup>6</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronica* (in *Chron. Steph.*, "Rolls Ser.," No. 82, Vol. IV), pp. 236-37, 242; Chronicle of Brioux, etc., in De la Borderie, pp. 274, 276. Robert, who stood close to Henry II, and knew so much about things Stephen was interested in, must have been well known to him, having been a monk in Bec 1128-54, and as abbot of Mont St. Michel from the latter year having maintained relations with Bec.

<sup>7</sup> Rob. Tor., pp. 261, 267; Bened. of Peterb. ("Rolls Ser.," No. 40), I, 179.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Rob. Tor., p. 203; F. M. Stenton, *First Cent. of Engl. Feudalism* (Oxford, 1932), p. 75; 'dapifer' and 'seneschal' are interchangeable terms (*ibid.*, p. 73).

<sup>9</sup> Rob. Tor., p. 302.

<sup>10</sup> Pipe R., 1 Rich. I (ed. Hunter, 1844), p. 180; 2 Rich. I., pp. 30-31; cf. 7 and 8 Rich. I; *Curia Regis Roll* (London, 1922), I, 46, etc.; *Book of Fees* (London, 1920), I, 59, 119; cf. De la Borderie, III, 287, 292, 297. Several Alanus and Oliverus of Dinan appear in various other English twelfth-century rolls, including an Alanus often in the pipe roll for 1134-35—probably Rollandus' father.

<sup>11</sup> *Draco*, II, 1283-94; cf. p. 124 below.

Britons, English, French, "their only king" (946-50), imploring help. His feudal loyalty to the British hero of six centuries before, his faith in him, and the feudal-court title, Arthur's *dapifer*, 'seneschal' or 'steward,' imply derision enough. Further, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthur's *dapifer* is Kaius, *dux* or *consul* of the Angevins;<sup>12</sup> in French romance being written at just this time Sir Kai becomes a character part, churlish, mocking, and constantly foiled,<sup>13</sup> and such an equation, if such romances or their predecessors were known, would give further edge to the derision. It would be idle to ask if this great lord may have been a Kai-like personality, or may have made himself a bore and a laughing-stock by harping on Arthur and British tradition. But if Rolandus did not harp on Arthur, some did. Little as one may trust the application of generalizations about races to individuals, no one will deny that the Normans were civilized, matter-of-fact organizers and rulers, and that the Bretons were more primitive, imaginative, politically unstable. In a matter-of-fact poem of classical background the abrupt appearance of this utterly fantastic episode shows the incredulous amusement excited in aristocratic Normans by the seriousness with which the Bretons took their traditions, and preferred barbarous isolation to taking part in a great empire. Some of the Normans' descendants have later had the same feeling about other Celtic peoples. In the spirit of this seriousness twenty years later the son of the duchess Constance of Brittany was named Arthur;<sup>14</sup> reigning families in that day and ours have seen political value in adopting names from national heroes and patron saints.

## VII

In this presentation of Arthur as absurd and unreal, the question arises as to Stephen's motive and attitude. To Geoffrey of Monmouth he shows no hint of disrespect. In Arthur's letter Stephen describes his *gesta vera* against the Roman emperor and Modred without ridiculous exaggeration, warming to Geoffrey's narrative in a characteristically literary spirit. He accepts Geoffrey's mythic history, like the Trojan origin of the Franks and the Sicambria story (I, 493 ff.). But

<sup>12</sup> IX, 11-13; X, 3, 6, 9.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., J. D. Bruce, *Evol. of Arth. Rom.* (Göttingen, 1923), I, 102, 153, 193-96.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the very interesting account of Breton feeling by William of Newburgh ("Rolls Ser.," *Chron. Steph.*, I, 235).

he has no partisanship toward it. Arthur to the islanders, Welsh and English alike, was from beginning to end, in spite of the impatience of scholars like William of Newburgh and Gerald de Barri, mainly the "historic" Arthur, the glorious British conqueror and king; Arthurian romance, with Arthur's plastic person as mainly a handsome background, did not flourish there as on the Continent. Here, however, for obvious reasons Arthur, the island Napoleon, was not a sympathetic figure. With the insular view the Continental was to have its greatest fight in the sixteenth century with Polydore Virgil as its champion, and, for all the resentment caused by his attack on the historicity of Geoffrey's Arthur, the calm acceptance of the "historic" Arthur was shaken, and finally vanished even from the island about the late seventeenth century. Now Stephen had little interest in Henry as English king (save for the mere title), so little that his enemy Arthur appears repeatedly as king of the English rather than of the British.<sup>1</sup> But he had a very intense interest in Henry as Norman duke, and he writes from first to last as a Norman and a Continental—not with the positive liking for the handsome background, but with the hostility to the champion of the British.

This is shown in other ways than by making him the opposite of Alexander, the ruler of a fantastic realm, a fay, and the feeble enemies' idol. The Arthur of 1167, totally unlike Geoffrey's hero, is himself feeble, fantastic, ill-tempered, above all unreal. He rages, gnashes his teeth, and threatens—"Haec legit Arturus, frendet, furit, aestuat ira."<sup>2</sup> He sneers at Henry's battles as child's play, and at his war with Louis VII (earlier in 1167) as a laughing-stock to Arthur's men (1188-90); he merely allows Henry and the French king to rule his own lands out of sheer inborn kindness and pity (1203-4). That the subaudition of all this is intended is shown by the contrast of Stephen's own hero Henry, a solid and practical hero smilingly indulging the shadowy

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 1005, 1134-35, 1142. He often says *Angli* when Geoffrey would have said *Britones*.

<sup>2</sup> 953; cf. 955, 963, 966, 979, 1002, 1209-12. Later in the poem there is a curious parallel to this, which confirms its implication. At the papal election of 1159, Alexander III (Rollandus Bandinelli) and Victor IV were chosen as rival popes. While the former finally established himself, and almost from the first was accepted by England and France, since he strongly supported Becket he incurred the hostility of King Henry and so of course of Stephen. Though his own recognized pope, Stephen relishes calling him by his personal name Rollandus, and retells a correspondence between the rivals, and Rollandus-Alexander's *ira* (III, 521), and his *verba tumentia* (577) discussed among Victor's cardinals. Rollandus-Alexander is a mild parallel to the other Rollandus' Arthur.

irritable braggart. He discusses the letter with his friends much as Arthur discusses Lucius' insolent letter,<sup>3</sup> but more humorously, *subridens sociis, nil pavefactus* (1218); makes, as we have seen, damaging comparisons of Arthur with Alexander, which answer back Arthur's brags; grants the "historic" Arthur's exploits, but now (as we saw) declines to be scared by Arthur's threats and magic charms, for the Normans cannot be bewitched (1236-37); in order not to hurt Arthur's feelings, he will reason with him (1249-50). His letter to Arthur is quite a masterpiece. It is the part of a wise man, he says, and his duty, to moderate acts by words. Humorously adopting a trifle of Arthur's ferocity,<sup>4</sup> he calmly defends his right to Brittany, warns the Bretons against stubborn resistance to it, and rebukes Arthur's bad temper; unreasonable anger is silly and crazy.<sup>5</sup> He flatters him, and agrees, for a time, to hold Brittany under his suzerainty.<sup>6</sup> If anyone thought Henry's Breton campaign less decisive than it should be, his desistence in the *Draco* from his permanent rights because of his mother's death (1273 ff.) and agreement for a time to hold Brittany under Arthur saved his face. This letter, and the entire treatment of Arthur in the poem, show Stephen as a shrewd and tactful person.

Aside from Arthur's feeble brag and ill temper, the chief object of mockery is the "Breton hope." What is familiar to every Arthurian student need not be repeated, except that the "Breton hope" appears in the early twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> Yet it could be mocked without reflecting on Geoffrey, who merely hints at it (XI, 2). For all his fairy privilege, says Henry, Arthur may die like Darius; Lazarus died twice, and so may he.<sup>8</sup> Arthur begins his letter as *perennis*, his fleet is *perennis*, his *perennis* sister makes him *perpetuum*.<sup>9</sup> Henry drily re-

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. reg. Brit.*, IX, 15; and quite in contrast with the dispute between Henry and King Louis (*Draco*, II, 477 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> 1252 (cf. 1208).

<sup>5</sup> 1263 ff., 1269 ff., 1277-78, 1267-68.

<sup>6</sup> 1251-60, 1275 ff.

<sup>7</sup> According to the Laon canons in 1113, the Bretons and French were perpetually quarreling about Arthur and apparently his future return (*Patrol. Lat.*, CLVI, 983). There is no reason to doubt (as M. Faral does [*Leg. arth.*, I, 225-33]) that this passage was written in 1113; see "The English Journey of the Laon Canons," *Speculum*, October, 1933. The Breton or British hope for Arthur's return is wittily referred to by Peter of Blois ca. 1160 (Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartul. Univ. Paris.*, I, 26; mentioned by Faral). See also Wm. of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum* (before 1125), p. 342.

<sup>8</sup> 1244-46 (the imp. subj. in med. Latin does not necessarily mean a condition contrary to fact).

<sup>9</sup> 969, 1201, 1163-64.

peats *perennis* in beginning his reply, alludes to it again, and repeats it in his farewell with a pious comparison of Arthur's spooky immortality with his own under Christ.<sup>10</sup> In view of the fascination which their own past has always had for the Celts as for other small peoples, of the connection in which this episode is introduced in the *Draco*, and other things, I must fall in with those who believe the hope for Arthur's return encouraged the Celts in resisting the Normans. Stephen meets it by making Arthur ridiculous, and above all unreal, with a ridiculous and unreal domain. Though even cultivated medievals were a little less impelled than we to decide between what they did and did not believe, Stephen believed that the "historic" Arthur had died like men and fallen like one of the princes.

As we draw to a close, let us see how all the foregoing matters are knitted to Stephen himself and his circumstances. No doubt writing such a poem gave him the satisfaction not only of skilful authorship but also of expressing sincere loyalty to the Norman cause and dynasty. It also gratified the smug feeling of a monk in a distinguished house who stood in with the great; and it would raise his standing at Bec, and the standing of Bec among other religious houses. Stephen was the sort of clever lightweight in a weighty institution who adds to cheer and smoothness by being entertaining and adaptable. But there was much more than this. Bec was already high in the favor of the ducal house. The immediate occasion of the poem, we have seen, is the death of the Empress Matilda, which the poem begins by lamenting and touches or dilates on several times again. She had lived and died at the priory of Blessed Mary *de Prato*, close to Rouen, which was a cell of Bec,<sup>11</sup> and at the wish of Henry chose Bec itself as her own burial place.<sup>12</sup> Her whole family, including even her former rival, King Stephen, are treated gently or with adulation; and her son Henry with servility, especially in the passage which reaches the depths of obsequiousness (II, 1287 ff.), where the reporter of her death is rewarded by Henry with a staff, "far dearer to him than a crozier, which shall be buried with him, and which his naked body may be beaten with if he does ill." Now at the final account of Matilda's death Stephen not only mentions her liberality to Bec; he states that after

<sup>10</sup> 1251, 1257, 1281 ("valeat tua vita perennis, Nam mea sub Christi jure perennis erit").

<sup>11</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, XI, 239; *Draco*, III, 39 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Draco*, III, 85 ff.



the end of the poem he shall give a list of her gifts, followed *breviter* by what her son gave of her goods after her death.<sup>13</sup> These lists follow the poem in the Vatican manuscript, the one nearly two pages of copes and thuribles, the other of a mere half-dozen items. This hint, coupled with much adulation of Henry, seems plain. But whether or not the house had been disappointed at the proceeds of her death, it is hard to doubt that a copy of the poem, lists and all, would be presented to Henry, with some of that gratitude which is a lively sense of future favors. A monk's house was to him both his sect and his family, calling out all his zeal and effort. And even an author vowed to poverty would have a right to expect attentions and gifts to himself. Let us hope he got more than a walking-stick.

But there is more even than this. The *Draco* editor and others believe it was Stephen himself who in September, 1167, brought to Henry in eastern Brittany the news of his mother's death. Anyone must agree with this identification of the "monk of Bec, known, dear and attached to the king, to whom the journey was a labor of love," rewarded by the gift of a staff which is dilated on with such distressing gratitude; and who describes in detail Henry's grief and devotion to his mother.<sup>14</sup> At this moment Henry had just put down the Breton rebellion, and Rollandus of Dinan, one of its leaders, would be fresh in the memory of him and his suite. To the state of mind of a writer and readers for whom all this was recent, the amusingly fanciful episode, the topical digression, would not be so abrupt as to be startling, as it is to us.

We may go farther yet without overindulging the imagination. Henry had good reason to be familiar with Arthurian traditions. Of well-educated family, who were interested in them,<sup>15</sup> from nine to thirteen he had been brought up by his bookish uncle, Robert of Gloucester, the chief dedicatee of Geoffrey's *Historia*; and late in his life (for whatever reason) he is said to have advised the Glastonbury monks where to look for Arthur's tomb, and to build a new one.<sup>16</sup> We learn much of his habits, especially a few years after this time from Peter of Blois's invaluable letters, who was closely attached to him and knew

<sup>13</sup> III, 31-34; cf. pp. 758-60.

<sup>14</sup> 1283-1308.

<sup>15</sup> *Speculum*, VIII, 234.

<sup>16</sup> Gerald de Barri, *Spec. eccles.*, II, 8 and 10, *De princ. instr.*, I ("Rolls Ser.," IV, 47, 51; VIII, 128).

him intimately. He was one of the most bookish sovereigns of his day, with a retentive memory and *historiarum omnium fere promptam notitiam*; and as much as possible *secreta se occupat lectione*.<sup>17</sup> He was equally fond of intellectual discussion with clerks.<sup>18</sup> Needless to enlarge on what is well known. He was notably approachable and affable, and promptly appealed to by humor; Map tells how when certain men had been repulsed from his door Henry inside overheard a good pun and opened the door with a laugh.<sup>19</sup> One would hardly propose it as a theory, but cannot but wonder whether it was not from Henry himself that Stephen received the entire *matière et sens* of the Arthur episode, the only imaginative passage in the *Draco*, and in the whole of it and in the following impersonal allusions to his interviews with the king does not betray the gratification of the successful tuft-hunter. At any rate, the *matière et sens* of the episode would not only appeal to Henry the humorist but to the diplomat—its mockery of the "Breton hope," its veiled threat to the Bretons. And its tactful amusing compromise of holding Brittany under Arthur (though not exactly a financial compromise) would content this king, who "*discrimen sanguinis et mortes hominum exhorrescens, armis quidem cum aliter non potuit, sed libentius pecuniis cum potuit, pacem quaerere studuit*."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Peter of Blois, *Epist.* 66 (*Patr. Lat.*, CCVII, 198); Gerald de Barri, *Exp. Hib.*, I, 46; *De princ. instr.*, II, 29 ("R.S." V, 301-6; VIII, 215); W. Map, *De nugis*, V, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Peter, *Epist.* 66.

<sup>19</sup> *De nugis*, I, 6; V, 6; *Exp. Hib.*, p. 303.

<sup>20</sup> William of Newburgh, *Hist. rer. Angl.*, III, 26 (*Chron. Steph.*, "R. S." I, 282); cf. *Exp. Hib.*, p. 303.



# ON AN APOCRYPHAL POEM IN ARIOSTO'S *LIRICA*

ACCORDING to Polidori,<sup>1</sup> the first printed edition of any of Ariosto's *Opere minori* was probably the pamphlet issued by Giulio Ferrarese entitled *Copia d'un Capitolo Nuouo del Divin S. S. Messer Lodouico Ariosto con alcune bellissime ottave, in lode delle bellezze d'una donna & una canzone del melon. Cose tutte piaceuoli, non piu poste in luce, & nouamente stampate. Ad Istanza di Messer Giulio Ferrarese*, no date or place.

Of the three poems contained in this publication, the *ottave* is the only one which concerns us here. In the standard edition of Ariosto's lyric poems, the editor, Fatini, places this composition among the *rime apocrife*.<sup>2</sup> He rejects its attribution to Ariosto on the ground that the title-page makes it clear that the authorship of the great epic poet does not extend to the *ottave* and *canzone*.<sup>3</sup> The poem, moreover, is nowhere else attributed to Ariosto either in manuscript or in print.

The real author of the composition, whose name Fatini had not ascertained at the time, is Anton Francesco Rinieri. The octaves are the first twelve of the twenty-two comprising the *Pompa di corrieri amorosi* written at the request of Carlo Visconti of Milan. The *Pompa* was printed in Rinieri's *Cento sonetti* (Milan, 1553), and in his *Rime* (Venice, 1554), which are merely a reprinting of the *Cento sonetti* in a smaller format. Nineteen of these stanzas (XV, XVI, and XVII being omitted) were subsequently included in the *Rime d'Anton Francesco Rainieri* (Bologna, 1712).

It is difficult to tell which of the variants of his surname Anton Francesco preferred. The *Cento sonetti* and the *Rime* use Rainerio on the title-page and in the dedicatory letter. Elsewhere it is Rainiero,

<sup>1</sup> In *Opere minori di Lodouico Ariosto* (Florence, 1857), I, xiii. Polidori thinks that the pamphlet belongs to the "prime decadi del secolo XVI." Fatini, in his study, "Per le liriche di Ludouico Ariosto," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Suppl. 22-23 (1924), p. 143, n. 1, believes that it is possible that it was printed after the *Forze d'amore. Opera noua: Nella quale si contiene sei Capitoli di Messer Lodouico Ariosto...*, ed. Ippolito Ferrarese (1537).

<sup>2</sup> Lodouico Ariosto, *Lirica*, a cura di G. Fatini (Bari, 1924), pp. 309-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Giornale storico* (1924), p. 239.

Rainero, Rainieri, Raineri, and Rinieri.<sup>4</sup> The form most in vogue must have been Rinieri since it is used by his intimate friends Annibal Caro and Carlo Visconti in sonnets addressed to him.<sup>5</sup>

Rinieri was born in Milan between 1500 and 1510.<sup>6</sup> The little that is known about his life has been drawn almost entirely from scattered remarks made by Hieronimo Rainerio, presumably a relative,<sup>7</sup> in his *Brevissima esposizione....sovra li cento sonetti....* appended to the *Cento sonetti* (Rime). Crescimbeni,<sup>8</sup> Quadrio,<sup>9</sup> Argelati,<sup>10</sup> and Bongi,<sup>11</sup> the latter using Zilioli's inedited *Storia de' poeti italiani*, give no facts that could not be gathered from the foregoing commentary by Hieronimo Rainerio.<sup>12</sup>

The first office which he held may have been a canonicate in the Cathedral of Milan, to which he was appointed by Hippolito d'Este II, then archbishop of that city.<sup>13</sup> Following this, he became secretary to Cardinal Verulano, legate at Piacenza. Later as secretary of Pierluigi Farnese he took part in the battle of Palliano between the papal forces and the Colonnese,\* negotiated with Pope Paul III for the fortification of Piacenza,\* and was instrumental in arranging the marriage between Vittoria Farnese and the Duke of Urbino. After the death of Pierluigi he served Cardinal Ridolfi, Duke Ottavio Farnese, and, finally, Balduino and Fabiano de' Monti, nephews of Pope Julius III. Though he counted among his intimate friends such outstanding men as Guidiccioni, Annibal Caro, and Molza, he also made many bitter enemies.\* In spite of frequent complaints to his patrons about

<sup>4</sup> See Vaganay, *Le sonnet en Italie et en France* (Lyon, 1903), *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Cento sonetti*. Caro also uses the spelling Rinieri in a letter. Cf. *Opere del Commendatore Annibal Caro (Delle lettere)* [Milan, 1807, Vol. I], IV, 98.

<sup>6</sup> Based upon the fact that the first two sonnets of the *Cento sonetti* were written in 1535, since they refer to the participation of Alfonso d'Avalos in the battle of Tunis.

<sup>7</sup> According to S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari* (Rome, 1890), I, 450. F. Argelati (*Bibliotheca scriptorum mediolanensium* [1745], II, 1188) states, apparently on his own authority, that Hieronimo was the brother of Anton Francesco.

<sup>8</sup> *L'istoria della volgar poesia* (Rome, 1698), p. 125.

<sup>9</sup> *Della storia e della ragion d'ogni poesia* (Milan, 1741), II, 242.

<sup>10</sup> *Bibliotheca*, pp. 1187-89.

<sup>11</sup> *Annali*, p. 450.

<sup>12</sup> Zilioli (cf. Bongi, *Annali*, p. 450) adds the report that Rinieri was involved in the villainous attack made by Pierluigi Farnese against Gheri, bishop of Fano. However, Varchi (*Storia fiorentina* [Milan, 1804], V, 391-93) does not mention Rinieri's name in this connection.

<sup>13</sup> Made cardinal in 1539. Facts heretofore unnoted, which have been drawn from the *Brevissima esposizione....*, are marked with an asterisk.

the insidiousness and envy of the latter, he was prevented by them from reaping any notable reward for his services.\* According to Girolamo Ferlito, an obscure poet-contemporary, he was a *gran dicitore*.<sup>14</sup>

If we may judge from the frequent appearance of his poems in the anthologies of the time, Rinieri's poetry was held in high esteem during the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century Muratori gives one of his sonnets, "Quel che fanciullo....," extravagant praise,<sup>15</sup> and Rubbi in his *Parnaso italiano* ([Venice, 1787], XXXI, 355) says of his verse: "Chi avesse fatto la scelta dei dodici migliori canzonieri di quel secolo [the sixteenth] quello del Rainieri dovrebbe in essa aver luogo." For us his compositions show some inventiveness, and a flowing, sonorous rhythm, but they are almost without exception devoid of poetic inspiration.

Barring a few love-poems, the *Cento sonetti*—Rinieri's main work—consists of occasional verse largely addressed to or referring to the patrons whom he served. Also included in this edition are a small group of additional sonnets, two *pompe*, two *sestine*, and a *canzone*. Many of the poems printed here reappear in various sixteenth-century verse collections,<sup>16</sup> which, incidentally, also contain sonnets not in the *Cento sonetti*. A *canzone* by Rinieri—"Sacro Signor...."—has wrongly been attributed to Molza,<sup>17</sup> while a sonnet—"La Sena e l'Arno...."—sometimes given to Caro,<sup>18</sup> also belongs to him. Other poems are imitations from Greek epigrams, Horace, Catullus, Ausonius, and Galienus.<sup>19</sup> A sonnet by Caro, "Eran Teti e Giunon....," and one by Rinieri, "Era tranquillo il mar....,"<sup>20</sup> are strikingly similar in thought and technique, but it is difficult to tell in this case which of them is the model and which is the imitation. Rinieri also wrote some Latin

<sup>14</sup> In the marginal notes (p. 65a) of a copy of *Il sesto libro delle rime di diversi eccellenti autori nuovamente raccolte e mandate a luce....* (Venice, 1553), in the Florentine National Library. See A. Salza, "Madonna Gaspara Stampa," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXII (1913), 72.

<sup>15</sup> *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (Milan, 1821), IV, 78.

<sup>16</sup> See Vaganay, *Le sonnet en Italie et en France, passim*, and Argelati, *Bibliotheca*, p. 1188.

<sup>17</sup> See the commentary to the *Cento sonetti*. Under Molza's name the *canzone* appears in *I fiori delle rime de' poeti illustri....* (Venice, 1558), pp. 254-55.

<sup>18</sup> Given as Caro's in *I fiori....*, p. 54; also in *Il primo volume delle rime scelte....* (Venice, 1565); *Apologia, Gli amori di Dafne e Cloe, Rime* (Milan, 1900).

<sup>19</sup> So noted in the *Brevissima espositione*.

<sup>20</sup> Both these sonnets were printed by Ruscelli in *I fiori delle rime de' poeti illustri* (Venice: Sessa, 1558): Caro's on p. 50, Rinieri's on p. 79. The former usually appears among Caro's *Rime* in a somewhat different form: *Eran l'aer tranquillo e l'onde chiare*, etc.

verse, and a comedy entitled *Altilia*.<sup>21</sup> Some *pompe* and other compositions written while at the court of the Duke of Urbino in Pesaro and at the request of Carlo Visconti have apparently remained unedited.<sup>22</sup> The Antonio Rinieri (or "Renieri") da Colle, who contributed thirty-six pages of lyrics to the *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana* (Rome: Blado, 1539), is presumably a different poet.

When did Giulio Ferrarese take from Rinieri the *Ottave in lode delle bellezze d'una donna*? Did the version he printed constitute the complete poem at the time he copied it, or is it only a fragment of the composition that was included in the *Cento sonetti* edition? Since praise of this type was usually bestowed upon a single lady (as in Giulio Ferrarese's version) rather than upon several ladies, it is possible to consider the *Pompa*, which follows the latter procedure, as an adaptation of a composition written sometime previous to the Visconte celebration. This might indicate that the *ottave* fell into the hands of Giulio Ferrarese as early as 1535.

On the other hand, we feel that the twenty-two octaves of the *Pompa* rather than the twelve of Ferrarese's version represent the full-length original, on the ground that the praise of various parts of the head to which the latter is limited is contrary to the traditional method of praising the beauties of milady, which was a *capite ad calcem*. For example, among the writers of the early Cinquecento who made use of this formula were Cei,<sup>23</sup> Ariosto,<sup>24</sup> Antonio Epicuro,<sup>25</sup> Olimpo,<sup>26</sup> and, in Spanish, Pedro Manuel Ximénez de Urrea.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Mantua: Venturino Roffinelli, 1550.

<sup>22</sup> See Rinieri's dedicatory letter attached to the *Pompa* and Hieronimo Rainierio's commentary.

<sup>23</sup> In *Sonetti, capituli, canzone, sextine, stanze et stramboetti composti per lo Excellentissimo Francesco Cei, Ciptadino Fiorentino, in laude di Clitia* (Florence, 1503).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Orlando Furioso*, VII, 11-15, and XI, 66-71.

<sup>25</sup> In *Mirsia; Favola Boscarea*, Act II, scene iv, written about 1528. See *Scelta die curiosità letterarie inedite o rare* (Bologna, 1887), pp. 136-37, Dispensa CCXXI, and cf. *Giornale storico*, XII, 52-66.

<sup>26</sup> In *Gloria d'amore* (Perugia, 1520; frequently reprinted). The caption of Olimpo's poem is as follows: "Comparation de laude a la Signora mia incominciando dal capo per insino alli piedi."

<sup>27</sup> In *Cancionero*.... (Zaragoza, 1876), pp. 446-47. Venturino de' Venturini da Pesaro in *Compendio de cose nove di Vincenzo Calmeta et altri autori* (Venice, 1515) has a *capitolo* in which (like the foregoing) feminine beauties are listed from head to foot. In the same anthology there is another *capitolo* in which the theme is treated with a different technique, listing according to size, shape, and color "le trentatre cose che convien alla donna a esser bella." See the notes to *El costume de le donnas, incomensando da la pueritia per fin al maritar*.... Con un *capitolo de le trentatre cose che convien alla donna a esser bella* (Brescia, 1536), in *Operette inedite o rare pubblicate dalla Libreria Dante* (Florence, 1889), XVI, 22-27.



Rinieri's *Pompa* is not without interest. Twelve *corrieri* ostensibly come from Cyprus to Milan in order to choose the most praised feature of a number of Milanese gentlewomen from which will be made a composite portrait that will hang on the altar of the Temple of Venus.<sup>28</sup> Each *corriere* kneels before a designated lady and presents her with a torch of love and an octave in praise of some part of her body. Those who are not individually praised receive a torch and the following stanza:

Del sottil foco suo, dei dolci nodi  
 In nome de la Dea che Cipro honora,  
 Ecco una Face a voi che' n mille modi  
 Più bella, & più gentil parete ognihora.  
 Voi, de la Face, & de le vostre lodi,  
 Ch'ogniun di Noi Corrier'sparge & v'adora,  
 Siate contenta, & poi che bella siete  
 In ogni parte, ecco il bel don c'havrete.

The first twelve octaves, those which have been erroneously attributed to Ariosto, are presented to and deal with the following ladies respectively: Contessa Lucia Trivultia Visconte, Claudia Arconata, Amodina Bertia, Margarita Trivultia, Lucretia Cusana, Contessa Isabella Visconte, Contessa Laura Gonzaga Trivultia, S. Cavalliera Visconte, Contessa Barbarina Este Trivultia, Lucretia Marinona, Gismondina da Este, and L'Illustriss. and eccellentiss. S. Principessa.<sup>29</sup> The ten remaining *stanze* not included in Fatini's reprinting run as follows:

## XIII

## GOLA

*De la S. Marchese di Soragnia*

Dal vago Mento al delicato Petto  
 Vagheggia Amor la ben composta Gola,  
 Torre d'alta bellezza: Ivi a dispetto  
 Dell'accorta sua Madre intorno vola;

<sup>28</sup> In imitation of the portrait which Zeusi placed in the Temple of Juno. See also *Orlando Furioso*, XI, 71.

<sup>29</sup> In the copy of Giulio Ferrarese's pamphlet examined by Fatini in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence, verse 3 of the fourth stanza is apparently illegible, while the fourth verse is garbled (Ariosto, *Lirica*, p. 310). In *Cento sonetti* the two lines read as follows:

"Come s'accenda un'alma & si consumi:  
 Tal che del suo mal goda, & del suo danno...."

Nè sa partir da si leggiadro aspetto,  
 Ma ritolto da lei, torna a lei sola  
 Qual Farfalla a la luce: & ha già l'ale  
 Arse quel Dio; nè sente anco il suo male.

## XIV

## BELL'ARIA

*De la S. Bianca Caccia Gambaloita*

Tra i vaghi e matutini albori ardea  
 L'aurata Aurora; & spente eran le stelle;  
 Et scintillava in Ciel pur Citherea;  
 Espettando del Sol forme più belle;  
 Impallidia già la triforme Dea;  
 Quand'a voi disse Amor: Et queste e quelle  
 Luci; od'altre che n'apra il Paradiso,  
 Vince l'aria gentil del vostro viso.

## XV

## BELLE CARNI

*De la S. Isabella Brivia*

Non Pallade, Giunon, Venere bella,  
 Al signoril Pastor mostraro avanti  
 Si vive carni; ignuda & questa & quella,  
 Per haver di beltà gli ultimi vanti;  
 Che ciascuna di lor paruta Ancella  
 Non fosse, al par dei casti lumi & santi  
 Ch'ornan le vostre carni; & solo il volto  
 Havrebbe a quelle Ignude il Pomo tolto.

## XVI

## PETTO

*De la S. Lucia Visconte*

Amor, che dentro a quel candido Seno  
 Gioisce & del materno homai non cura;  
 Perch'ogni avvinto cor divenga meno,  
 Hor l'ingombra di speme, hor di paura:  
 Et nel nettare suo, mesce il veleno,  
 Che con gli occhi si bee senza misura.  
 Indi sen'vanno ebbri, & infermi i cori,  
 Hor nel ghiaccio contenti, hor ne gli ardori.

## XVII

POPPE

*De la S. Donna Hippolita*

Ov'incomincia l'odorato Seno,  
 Anzi l'Orto d'Amor, spuntan gemelli  
 di fuor, duo crudi Pomi al Ciel sereno.  
 Volano i cor, com'amorosi Augelli,  
 Lieti intorno al Giardin dolce & ameno;  
 Ma non v'hann'esca ancor questi nè quelli.  
 Anzi è ciascun, d'Hesperidi nel Orto,  
 Da quel Serpe d'Amor, ferito, o morto.

## XVIII

HOMERI

*De la S. Lucretia Visconte*

L'habito altero, & vagamente accolto  
 Sovr'a gli Homeri alteri; e il velo avaro  
 Di voi, ch'intorno a quei tenete avvolto,  
 Non ponno sì; che non traluca chiaro  
 Hor sul destro hor su' l manco, a mirar volto  
 L'amoroso pensier, ch'ivi ha riparo.  
 Ondeggiando il bel crine; hor quinci or quindi  
 Tra Gioie, che non hanno Arabi od Indi.

## XIX

BRACCIA

*De la S. Presidente Arigona*

Non Tethi mai, sovr'a Delfin tra l'onde  
 Assisa in Mar; non Citherea nel Cielo;  
 Non sciolta di sua man le trecce bionde  
 Diana in terra, avvolta in sottil velo;  
 O in un bel Rio, che' l corpo ignudo asconde,  
 Mostrò sì belle Braccia; & vinse il cielo,  
 Come le vostre; al scoprir di cui,  
 Volando Amor, stende il suo collo a vui.

## XX

MANI

*De la S. Principessa d'Ascoli*

A quella Man, ch'Amor sì vagamente  
 Hora cuopre; hora mostra ignuda fuori

Dal più beato & lucido Oriente  
 Date spoglia che spiri arabi odori  
 Ninfe amorose; indi leggiadramente  
 Scoprite il vivo Avorio; a i nostri cori  
 (Com'a nuove Fenici) arder fia lieve,  
 Hor su gli odori, hor su la calda neve.

## XXI

## BELLA DISPOSITIONE

*De la S. Castellana*

Et d'Ambrosia l'odor, ch'intorno intorno  
 Spargete oltre passando; e il casto inchino;  
 E i soavi atti, e il bel sembiante adorno;  
 E il pargoletto piede, & pellegrino;  
 Et le gratie ch'a voi girano attorno,  
 Qualhor movete il bel corpo divino,  
 Vi mostran Dea; nè sì leggiadre membra  
 Veder in Donna, Amor mai si rimembra.

## XXII

## FIANCHI

*De la S. Gran Cancelliera*

Sott'alla ricca & fortunata gonna  
 Adorna Castità cela il bel Fianco;  
 Ma non che l'una & l'altra alta colonna  
 Asconda Amor: che palesar vuol anco,  
 Al mover sol di sì leggiadra Donna  
 Quant'egli un cor può far debole et manco.  
 Dicendo: che più oltre alcun non ose:  
 Segno, ch'a i Naviganti Hercole impose.

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## THE QUARTO OF *KING LEAR* AND SHORTHAND<sup>1</sup>

THE tragedy of *King Lear* has come down to us in two independent texts, that of the First Quarto, 1608, entered in the Stationers' Register in November, 1607, not long after the play had been put on the stage, and that of the First Folio, 1623, based on the promptbook then in use at the Globe. Aside from the facts (1) that the Folio omits something more than two hundred lines found in the Quarto, and adds approximately fifty lines (readily explained as due either to alterations in a late promptbook or to the peculiar way in which the manuscript for the Quarto was secured), and (2) that the Quarto throughout corrupts the meter, mutilates the verse-lining, and spoils the punctuation, the two texts are identical—except in one very curious respect: giving the same sentences, in the same sequence, they nevertheless exhibit a constant variation in verbal forms (*has, hath; ye, you; wrote, writ*) and in individual words (*smite, strike; caitiff, coward; tax, task*), for the most part unimportant, or at least not affecting the sense. So numerous are these minor differences that Miss Madeleine Doran, in her recent study, *The Text of "King Lear"* (1931), contends that the Quarto represents Shakespeare's first hurried draft of the play, and the Folio his careful revision. But, as Delius pertinently asks: "Is it at all probable that Shakespeare, even granting that he revised the text, would have undertaken such superfluous trouble, as, we can not say to *improve*, but merely to *change* the text in these innumerable, and minute, and insignificant particulars?" Moreover, the frequent metrical imperfections and the constant confusion of the verse-lines in the Quarto render Miss Doran's thesis unpalatable. When we note that the copy for the Quarto was in the hands of printers shortly after the play was staged, we very naturally suspect piracy; and when further we discover that both the stationers concerned in the publication had earlier been guilty of issuing stolen Shakespearian plays—Nathaniel Butter, who in 1603 had pirated

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this study was presented in a paper read before the English Section of the Southern Branch of The Modern Language Association of America, in Atlanta, Ga., on November 27, 1932.

*Hamlet*, and John Busby, who in 1600 and 1602 had pirated *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*—our suspicion is not lessened. The reader who follows the evidence presented below will, I believe, be convinced that the copy used for the Quarto of *Lear* was supplied by a thief, and that the thief secured the copy by means of shorthand.

I realize that for this theory some difficulty may lie in the record of the Stationers' Company that Butter and Busby, men well known to be actively engaged in piracies, were able to enter *King Lear* "under the handes of Sir George Buck, Knight," the Master of the Revels, who at the time was specially concerned with preventing the theft of new plays; and therefore it might reasonably be inferred that the actors had given their consent to the publication of the play. An explanation of this seeming difficulty, however, may be found if we assume that the play was originally put on the boards two years earlier than its actual publication. Butter and Busby, in entering the play on November 26, 1607, describe it as "played before the Kinges maiestie at Whitehall upon Sainct Stephens night at Christmas Last," that is, on December 26, 1606; and they repeat the statement boldly on the title-page. As good salesmen, they would, of course, like to emphasize the royal performance; but there is no reason to suppose that the play might not have been earlier acted before the public at the Globe; and some evidence, at least, points to this conclusion. On May 8, 1605, there was entered in the Stationers' Register, and shortly published, an ancient play on the story of *Lear*. How old the play was we do not know, but it was "revived" by Henslowe in April, 1594, and shortly after, on May 14, entered in the Stationers' Register, though apparently not printed. It has been generally, and plausibly, assumed that the publication in 1605 of this ancient piece was inspired by the success of Shakespeare's *Lear*, and the hope that, with a suitable title, it could be palmed off on buyers as the famous tragedy then drawing crowds to the Globe. It is significant that the title under which the old play was entered in the Stationers' Register, in 1605, was "*The Tragicall historie of Kinge Leir*," whereas the play was really a comedy with a very happy ending, and no writer handling the *Lear* story had ever given it a tragic conclusion until Shakespeare put on the boards his entirely altered version. It is also significant that the title-page of the old play, as it was offered to book-buyers (in spite of the official Stationers' entry "*The Tragicall*," etc.) reads: *The True Chronicle His-*

tory of *King Leir*, and his three daughters; and that the title-page of Shakespeare's play, 1608, in almost similar terms, reads: *True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters*. Since the Shakespearian *King Lear* of 1608 was a piracy, presumably its title-page, as the wording suggests, was devised from the actors' bills then used in advertising the play. May not the publisher of the early non-Shakespearian *Leir* also have devised its title-page from the bills that were to be seen "on every post"? He would be likely so to do if his object was to deceive buyers into thinking that they were securing the current popular play by Shakespeare. And for the same reason, we may suppose, he added the clause "lately acted," without, however, citing the company or theater; for, as Sir Edmund Chambers rightly observes, it is "improbable that *Leir* should have been revived as late as 1605."

If, with Chalmers, Malone, Dyce, Fleay, and other competent scholars, we assume that Shakespeare's dramatization of the Lear story was on the stage in 1605, or shortly thereafter, it may well be that its text was then, while the play was still fresh in public esteem, taken down by shorthand, and disposed of to the two unscrupulous stationers who were known to be receivers of stolen goods. That it was not at once put to general sale on the bookstalls may have been due to protests and negotiations by the King's Company, as a result of which Butter and Busby agreed, upon the payment of a sum of money, to defer their actual issue of the play for two years. On this point I may here quote what I wrote in my *Life of Shakespeare* long before I suspected that the Quarto was stolen by shorthand:

The circumstances under which these not very reputable stationers came into possession of a successful play only two years old, the publication of which could hardly have been gratifying to the actors, and were able to license it with the formal sanction of the Master of the Revels . . . are unknown to us. In the absence of definite evidence we may hazard a guess. Possibly they had earlier secured a corrupt copy of the play, and the actors, learning of the fact, had bargained with them to delay publication on the payment of a sum of money. . . . We know that this procedure was sometimes followed. In 1600 Henslowe paid a publisher, Cuthbert Burby, the sum of £2 "to stay the printing" of a new play, *Patient Grissel*, then but two months old. Burby, accepting the money, deferred publication until 1603. There was no reason why the King's Company should not, in a similar predicament, resort to the same device.



At least such a hypothesis would explain why Butter and Busby could enter the play "under the handes of Sir George Buck."

But, whatever the explanation of the ability of these two stationers to secure a legal copyright to *King Lear*, with the formal sanction of the Master of the Revels, it can readily be demonstrated that they had in their hands a corrupt text of the play, stolen by means of shorthand.

The system of shorthand commonly employed in England at this time was that invented by Timothy Bright, who in 1588 published a treatise on the subject entitled *Characterie: An Arte of Shorte, swifte, and secrete writing by Character*. His book, we know, aroused a great deal of general interest; Queen Elizabeth herself issued a patent granting to him and his heirs for the space of fifteen years the sole privilege "to teach, imprint, and publish" the "shorte and new kinde of writing" he had "latelie invented." In his preface, Bright claimed that by his method anyone, with reasonable practice, could take down orations and public speeches verbatim; and in this claim he seems to have been justified. John Willis, the author of *The Art of Stenographie* (1602), writes of Bright's *Characterie*: "Divers men attained great readiness in the practice of that Art"; and we have evidence that soon after Bright's book appeared, various persons occupied themselves with his system of "swift" writing. In 1589 Jane Seager presented to Queen Elizabeth "the divine prophesies of the ten Sibills," transcribed "in that rare Arte of Charactery invented by Dr. Bright"; the manuscript is now preserved in the British Museum. Shortly, too, men began to take down the sermons of popular preachers, and dispose of them, for gain, to the stationers. In 1589 there was issued a sermon delivered at Blackfriars by Stephen Egerton "taken by Characterie." Though no copy of the first edition is known to be extant, the second edition, 1603, presumably a reprint, bears on the title-page the statement: "Taken by characterie, by a yong Practitioner in that Facultie." This young practitioner, who, in an address to the reader signs himself "A. S.," after expressing the wish that sermons might be preserved for posterity, declares: "This desire of many, some have lately endeavored to satisfie by an Art called Characterie: which I having learned, have put in practice . . . whereof I here give thee a taste, (Christian reader) in publishing the godly Sermon so taken. I have not willingly

missed one word, whereby either the truth of the doctrine might be perverted, or the meaning of the Preacher altered. Such is the use of the Art, which I have learned." When, however, the second edition appeared, the author, not satisfied with the boasted accuracy of A. S., "perused, corrected, and amended" the text, saying that the young man "it seemeth to me, respected the commendation of his skill in Characterie more than the credit of my ministry"; and, after speaking of "diverse things which I have seen penned from mine owne mouth," he deprecates those who, "seduced by gain," set forth in public print lectures secured by means of the new art of shorthand. A second sermon by Egerton is extant in manuscript, as preached "on friday the 19. of September, 1589, Taken in Charactery by John Lewys, as it was uttered by the Autour." Another popular preacher who suffered much from stenographic piracies was Henry Smyth, of St. Clement Danes in the Strand. In 1590 *A sermon of the benefite of Contentation. By H. Smyth. Taken by Characterie* was printed, "though it were not the author's minde, or consent, that it should come forth thus in market." Apparently it was a profitable venture, for a second edition was called for in the same year. In 1591 the author himself sponsored a "corrected" edition, complaining in his preface of "how miserably it hath been abused in Printing." Smyth was also impelled to issue in 1590 a corrected edition of his earlier pirated sermon *The Wedding Garment*. In 1591 still another of his sermons, "taken by Characterie," was offered to the public; and in the same year his *Examination of Usurie in two Sermons* was published as "taken by Characterie, and after examined," though whether the examination was made by the author is not clear.

But it might be objected that taking down a sermon in the quiet of a church is an entirely different thing from taking down a play in a noisy theater, even by a professional far more skilful than the amateurish "young practitioner" A. S. It has been suggested that a stenographer at work would be spotted by the actors or employees of the theater, and ejected from the building. But Bright's system employed minute symbols, crowded closely together, so that it was possible, as the inventor boasted, to write much in a "small quantitie of paper." A whole play, indeed, could easily be transcribed in a pocket-sized notebook. We know, from countless allusions, that it was the custom

for young gentlemen to bring notebooks into the theater, for the purpose of taking down neat phrases, or quotable passages. A stenographer, using such a notebook, would hardly be suspected of stealing the whole play, except, perhaps, by his immediate neighbors. The actors, at least, were likely to be in ignorance of his purpose; nor was there any reason why he might not later visit the theater to check his transcript on difficult passages.

The question we must answer, however, is not *could* but *did* practitioners of this art take down plays from the mouths of the actors. Sir George Buc—who in 1608 was involved in the license of the stolen *King Lear*—wrote in his *Third Universitie of England* (1612): "They which know it can readily take a Sermon, Oration, Play, or any long speech, as they are spoke, dictated, acted, and uttered, in the instant." Since, as Master of the Revels, Buc was thoroughly familiar with every fact relating to plays, his statement carries weight. Equally valuable is the testimony of Thomas Heywood. In 1605 this popular dramatist suffered a stenographic piracy of his new play, *If You Know Not Me*, issued by Nathaniel Butter, the same publisher responsible for the stenographic piracy of Shakespeare's *King Lear*. In a bitter complaint Heywood states that the play

Did throng the Seates, the Boxes, and the Stage  
So much, that some by Stenography drew  
The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word trew).

When Heywood said "scarce one word trew," he was, of course, speaking as an author sensitive to exact diction and correct meter—things which shorthand at times necessarily mangled. Though we are not able to compare the stolen text with the dramatists' own "true copy," we are forced to admit that, within the limits of stenographic reporting, the thief supplied a satisfactory transcript of the play. Sir Edmund Chambers, while admitting that "it is not a good text," declares that "it is not as bad as the memorized bad texts of Shakespeare." It is significant that this description exactly fits the stolen *Lear* text. Further, there are some reasons to believe that the stenographer who filched, and sold to Butter, *If You Know Not Me* may be responsible also for the theft, and sale to Butter, of *King Lear*. Both texts show the meter corrupted, the verse-lining ruined, and the

punctuation confused, in exactly the same way. The following passage from *If You Know Not Me* will illustrate:

ELIZ.: My honor'd Lord fare well, unwilling I  
With grief and woe must continue,  
Help me to some ink and paper good sir Henry.

Aside from the same kind of bad punctuation, textual errors, and verse mutilation found in both *Lear* and *If You Know Not Me*, there are certain striking similarities in the stage directions—that part of the text which, of course, had to be devised by the thief himself while witnessing the play. The following examples will make this clear:

Stringing proper names together with "and":

*King Lear:*

Enter Gloster, and Lear, Kent, Foole, and Tom.

Enter Cornwall and Regan and Gonerill and Bastard.

*If You Know Not Me:*

Enter Tame and Shandoyse and Gage.

Stressing the number of anonymous persons who enter:

*If You Know Not Me:*

Enter three poor men.

Enter six with torches.

Enter Elizabeth . . . and three household servants.

Enter four torches.

Enter four with the Hearse of Winchester.

Four Gentlemen bearing the Canopy over the Queen; two Gentlewomen bearing up her train; six Gentlemen Petitioners.

*King Lear:*

Enter three Gentlemen.

Enter Duke, the two Ladies, and others.

Enter Gloster brought in by two or three.

Indicating the exact time-order in which persons make their entrance:

*If You Know Not Me:*

Enter Tame . . . ; then the Queen; after her. . . .

Tame and Chandos bare-headed; Philip and Mary after them; then Winchester. . . .

Enter four Trumpeters; after them Sergeant Trumpeter with a mace; after him. . . .

Enter the Clowne beating a souldier. . . . Then enter the Cooke beating another.

*King Lear:*

Enter one bearing a Coronet; then Lear; then the Dukes of Albany and Cornwall; next. . . .

Graphic descriptions of the actors' stage business:

*If You Know Not Me:*

They fight: he hurts the Spaniard. . . .

He lookes back, he kills him.

*King Lear:*

Draw and fight. . . .

She takes a sword and runs at him behind.

*If You Know Not Me:*

She sleepes.

She kneels.

They fight.

He reads.

*King Lear:*

Sleepes.

He kneels.

They fight.

He reads.

The careful noting of properties carried on the stage by the actors:

*If You Know Not Me:*

Enter Clowne and one more with faggots.

Enter three white-coat Souldiers with a jack of beer.

Enter Winchester, Gresham with paper.

Enter Souldiers with dishes.

Enter a Boy with a Nose-gay.

*King Lear:*

Enter one with a bloudie knife.

Enter Gloster and the Bastard with lights.

Enter Edmund with his rapier drawn.

The use of "with" in the sense of "accompanied by":

*If You Know Not Me:*

Enter all with Elizabeth.

Enter . . . Constable with Pursevant.

Enter Tame and Shandoyse with Souldiers, Drums, &c.

*King Lear:*

Enter France and Burgundie with Gloster.

Enter . . . with Followers.

Enter Edmund with Lear and Cordelia prisoners.

Enter Albany and Gonerill with troupes.

A few verbal similarities (as "*Exeunt. Manet Kent and Gent.*"; "*Exeunt. Manet Tame*") might be noted as further suggesting that the same thief devised the stage directions in both manuscripts.

With the piracy of *If You Know Not Me*, Heywood was not through with the unscrupulous publisher who had thus grievously offended him. In 1608 Butter and his associate Busby (the two men who in this same year pirated *King Lear*) were allowed to enter in the Stationers' Register, "under the handes of Sir George Buck, Knight," Heywood's recent and very popular play, *The Rape of Lucrece*. In the edition, which immediately followed, Heywood prefixed a short note "To the Reader," acknowledging that he had supplied to the printers a true copy of the play, but at the same time declaring: "It hath been no custom in mee of all other men (courteous Readers) to commit my plaies to the presse." He then explains why, in this instance, he departed from his fixed practice: "Some of my plaies have (unknown to me, and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the Printers handes, and therefore so corrupt and mangled, (copied onely by the eare) that I have been as unable to know them, as ashamde to chalenge them. This therefore I was the willinger to furnish out in his native habit." He adds that he was able to supply to the printers the true copy "by consent," doubtless of the company of actors who owned

the manuscript, and who alone could authorize its release to the press. But why did the company of actors give consent to the publication of one of its newest and most successful plays? Why did Heywood concern himself with the accuracy of the text? And, above all, why did he deliver the valuable manuscript to Nathaniel Butter, who had recently done him a cruel wrong by pirating *If You Know Not Me*? It is at least a plausible guess that Butter had secured a corrupt copy of the play (probably from the same shorthand thief who had stolen *If You Know Not Me*), and that Heywood sought, by supplying a correct copy, to avoid a second grave injury to his reputation as a poet. Whether, in return, he and his actors caused Butter to delay the printing, we can only surmise; but we do know that Sir George Buc, probably aware of the pertinent facts, gave his official license to the publication of the play.

If we are now ready to grant that shorthand was sometimes—especially about the year 1605—used to pirate plays, let us examine Bright's system of "Characterie,"<sup>2</sup> without going into the minute details which for our purpose have no value, and see how that system will explain the peculiarities in the text of the *King Lear* Quarto.<sup>3</sup>

Bright devised for individual words what he called "characters," small symbols made up of straight lines, varied by means of position and by short hooks added at one or both ends—not much unlike the symbols used in modern stenography. These symbols were written (necessarily so) one below the other in slender columns descending from the top to the bottom of the page; and many such columns could be crowded in the width of the page.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Peter Bales, in *The Writing Schoolmaster* (1590), *The Arte of Brachygraphy* (1597), and *New Years Gift for England* (1600), presents a system of shorthand. This system is very much like Bright's; but, so far as I can discover, it did not gain the popularity that Bright's Characterie did. There was also an entirely different system of shorthand invented by John Willis in 1602, and perfected by him in 1622. After a careful study of this system, I am absolutely certain that it was not employed in the theft of *Lear*. Willis' system is entirely based on phonetics; Bright's system, on "characters" that stood for individual words without respect to sound. Only Bright's system can explain the errors in the *Lear* Quarto.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion that the Quarto of *Lear* might have been taken down by shorthand was made many years ago by Schmidt, but has not been taken seriously. Sir Edmund Chambers, after discussing Bright's Characterie, seems of the opinion that "the system was altogether too cumbersome to be applied to anything so difficult as a play"; yet he thinks that shorthand of some kind "may very possibly be a factor in *King Lear* (1608) and *Pericles* (1609)." Again, writing of *King Lear*, he says: "Possibly it was produced by shorthand." But he submits no definite evidence, and leaves the question in doubt.



With this scheme of arranging the symbols, it was obviously impossible for the stenographer to indicate blank-verse lines, even if in the rapid speech of the actors he could distinguish them. Accordingly, in the Quarto of *Lear* we find the verse-lining almost a complete wreck. This would not be the case had the printer set from a normal manuscript; the Folio text, based on the promptbook, has the verse correctly arranged.

Further, in Bright's system there was no real provision for punctuation; all that is said on the subject is that the stenographer may use "a prick [i.e., a period] sette under the character at every breathing, or pause of the sentence." Since, however, pricks were set under characters to denote also other things, it is clear that the matter of punctuation was sadly neglected. As a result, the Quarto of *Lear* presents a nightmare of punctuation, usually nothing but commas, and these so disposed as to confuse, even at times destroy, the sense. The Folio text, in contrast, is well punctuated.<sup>4</sup>

The characters devised by Bright had nothing whatever to do with the sound of words, that is, were not phonetic; on the contrary, each stood for a particular word, and as such had to be committed to memory. Obviously the number of characters that could readily be carried in memory was limited; and hence Bright selected 558 words as representing all the fundamental ideas expressed in language, and for each devised a separate character. These words he called "characterical words," meaning 'words for which a character is provided.' Other words he treated as in some definite way related to the 558 characterical words; and he devised a scheme (1) to indicate the nature of that relationship, and (2) to suggest the particular word called for. The stenographer's first task, then, was to memorize the 558 characterical words and their respective symbols; his second task was to learn how to relate other words to these 558 fundamental words, and to denote that relationship, with a cue to the exact word desired.

If a speaker used one of the 558 characterical words, the stenographer, of course, had merely to jot down the memorized character for that word. But the chances were that the word spoken would not fall in

<sup>4</sup> Where its punctuation is bad, this is usually due to following the Quarto text; for the Folio was set from a copy of the 1608 Quarto corrected by the actors' promptbook, as abundant evidence shows.

the list of those for which a character had been provided; whereupon the stenographer was called upon to relate that word to some particular word in the chosen list of 558, as being

- I. A synonym ["a word of like signification"]
- II. An antonym ["a word of contrary meaning"]
- III. A part, or a kind, of a more inclusive—"appellative"—word

And, having determined this relationship, he had to write the symbol for the characterical word involved, and then add to the symbol something that would both indicate the nature of the relationship, and, at the same time, give a hint as to the exact word called for.

Let us illustrate how this feat was to be accomplished, and how the inadequacy of the devices employed affected the Quarto text of *Lear*.

#### SYNONYMS

In his list of 558 characterical words Bright includes the word *anger*, represented by a very simple character—a short horizontal line with a hook at the end. The synonyms of *anger* are *rage*, *fury*, *wrath*, *ire*, *hate*, *choler*, etc. In order to indicate any one of these synonyms, the stenographer wrote the character for the word *anger*, then added, at the left (this position denoting synonymity) the initial letter<sup>5</sup> of the particular word desired: thus, *r anger* = *rage*; *f anger* = *fury*; *w anger* = *wrath*, etc.

Though simple in theory, this scheme might easily lead to error, not in the meaning, to be sure, but in the exact word chosen to express that meaning. For instance, when later the stenographer came to transcribe his symbols into longhand, he might, if more than one synonym began with the same letter, choose the wrong synonym. We find numerous cases of this sort of error in the *Lear* Quarto. For example, Shakespeare wrote, according to the actors' text as represented in the Folio:

*Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the world.*

In Bright's system there is no character for the word *strike*; it is treated as a synonym of the characterical word *hit*. The stenographer, therefore, jotted down *s hit*. When he came to transcribe his shorthand notes, he knew (1) that *hit* was not the word used, (2) that the desired

<sup>5</sup> Bright, having provided characters for the letters of the alphabet, suggests that these characters be here used; but it would seem easier and quite as simple to use the letters themselves, and some evidence exists that our stenographer did so.

word was a synonym of *hit*, and (3) that its initial letter was *s*. Not recalling the precise word, he wrote:

*Smite flat the thick rotundity o' the world.*

The sense is the same; indeed, some editors prefer *smite*, and it is conceivable that Shakespeare might have used the word had it come into his head.

Again, Shakespeare wrote, according to the Folio: "to *scant* her duty." In Bright's system *scant* would be indicated by *s loose*. Later, in transcribing his notes, the stenographer, unable to recall the precise word used, wrote: "to *slack* her duty." This time, though the meaning is unchanged, the diction is somewhat weakened.

In the Folio, Regan asks:

Lord Edmund spake not with your *lord* at home?

The Quarto gives:

Lord Edmund spake not with your *lady* at home?

The Folio reading is, of course, correct. The Quarto error doubtless came about in this way: Bright has no character for either *lord* or *lady*, but treats each as of "consenting meaning" with the characteristic word *master*; the stenographer, having written *l master*, was later confronted with the choice *lord* or *lady*, and the immediate context giving him no aid, he guessed wrongly. For exactly the same reason he elsewhere wrote "I shall, my *liege*" for "I shall, my *lord*." Other examples of wrong synonyms are: *shows* for *seems*; *men* for *meiny*; *be-tray* for *bewray*; *hear* for *hark*; *overturn'd* for *overwhelm*; *caytiff* for *coward*; etc.

Bright, it is true, suggests that when more than one synonym begins with the same initial letter, the stenographer may (assuming that he has time to consider the matter) affix the first two letters of the desired word; yet even in such cases there still remained the possibility of error, as the following instances will show:

Who *stock'd* [Q. *struck*] my servant. (Bright *st punish*.)

I *tax* [Q. *task*] not you, you elements. (Bright *ta labor*.)

We *wawl* [Q. *wayl*] and cry. (Bright *wa cry*.)

When it is mingled with *regards* [Q. *respects*] that stand. (Bright *re consider*.)

Further, as was to be expected, the stenographer at times had difficulty in interpreting his symbols; in such cases he resorted to guesses, based on the context:

O! well flown, bird; i' the clout i' the clout [Q. in the air].

Bright's system would express *clout* by *c cloth*; the stenographer, unable to make sense out of the line (it is nonsense in Shakespeare), substituted, in guess, the word *air*.

Then, poor Cordelia!  
And yet not so; since, I am sure, my love's  
More ponderous [Q. richer] than my tongue.

Bright's system would express *ponderous* by *p waite* (i.e., *weight*); the stenographer, unable to interpret his symbol, looked to the context for guidance, and, observing the word *poor*, guessed the word *richer*.

To have the *expense* and *waste* of his revenues.

Bright's system would express *expense* as *e spare* and *waste* as *w spare*. The stenographer, unable, apparently, to think of a synonym of *spare* beginning with the letter *e*, inserted in place of *expense* a dash.<sup>6</sup>

Sometimes, too, the stenographer would interpret his symbol by an entirely erroneous word: as, *consumption*, written *c spare*, interpreted *consummation*; *conjunct*, written *c join*, interpreted *compact*; *addition*, written *ad join*, interpreted *advancement*.

The reader who will examine the Quarto text will find abundant further examples.

#### ANTONYMS

In his list of 558 characterical words, Bright includes the word *good*. The antonyms of *good* are *bad*, *evil*, *wicked*, *vicious*, *hurtful*, *depraved*, etc. In order to indicate any one of these antonyms, the stenographer wrote the character for *good*, and then added, at the right (this position denoting antonymity), the initial letter of the word called for. Thus: *good b = bad*; *good e = evil*; *good w = wicked*, etc.

Again, this scheme, though simple in theory, was likely to lead to errors, not in meaning so much as in accurate diction; for if the stenographer, when he came to transcribe his characters into longhand, was unable to recall the actual word used, and if two or more words of con-

<sup>6</sup> Later the line was "corrected" by a proofreader to "the wast and spoil." It is significant that in various instances the stenographer resorted to a dash.

trary meaning began with the same initial letter, he might readily choose the wrong word. A few examples will make this clear. Shakespeare wrote, according to the Folio, "*below thy foot*"; in Bright's system, the word *below* is treated as an antonym of *above*, and the stenographer, therefore, jotted down *above b*. When, however, he came to transcribe his notes, he wrote *beneath* instead of *below*. The sense is the same, and perhaps there is little choice between the two readings; but *beneath*, we may suppose, was not the word Shakespeare used. Again, the poet wrote: "*Shut your mouth, dame.*" According to Bright's system, *shut* is an antonym of *open*; the stenographer, therefore, jotted down *open s*. But when later he came to transcribe, he wrote: "*Stop your mouth, dame.*" Cordelia declares that "no *unchaste action*" soils her. Bright treats *unchaste* as an antonym of *whore*. The stenographer, therefore, jotted down *whore u* (or, possibly, *whore un*), which later he transcribed as *unclean*.

A more serious error would arise when the stenographer, through carelessness, failed to record, or possibly to observe, that a contrary meaning was called for. For instance, Shakespeare wrote:

The gods are just, and of our pleasant *vices*  
Make instruments to plague us.

Bright's system has no character for the word *vice*, but treats it as an antonym of *virtue*; and hence the stenographer jotted down *virtue v*. When, however, he came to transcribe, he overlooked (if, indeed, he had added it) the letter *v* at the right, calling for the opposite meaning, and wrote:

The gods are just, and of our pleasant *virtues*  
Make instruments to plague us.

This, of course, is nonsense. Again, Shakespeare wrote "What he should *dislike*." The stenographer, according to Bright's system, jotted down *desire d*; but in transcribing neglected to give the contrary meaning, and foolishly wrote: "What he should *desire*."

Some of the most serious cruxes in the Quarto text may be explained as due to the stenographer's error in interpreting antonymous characters. For example, in place of the word *farms* ("from low farms") the Quarto has the word *service*. Bright lists the word *farmer* (and *farm*) as an antonym of *lord*, yet he has no character for *lord*, which he

treats, in turn, as a synonym of *master*; accordingly the stenographer must have jotted down the rather indefinite *master f*. Curiously enough, Bright lists the word *serve* (and *service*) as an antonym of *master*, to be written *master s*. The resultant confusion in the mind of the stenographer probably led to the error noted above. Again, in place of the word *enemy's* ("Mine enemy's dog") the Quarto has *injurious*. Bright treats *enemy* as an antonym of *friend*, written *friend e* (or *friend en*). The stenographer, thinking from the context that an adjective was called for with a meaning contrary to *friendly*, wrote the word *injurious*.

#### PARTS, OR KIND, OF AN "APPELLATIVE" WORD

Bright treats many words as subdivisions of more inclusive words; and for the guidance of the stenographer he prints a formal Table of Appellative Words (chosen from the 558 characterical words), and indicates under each appellative word its various parts or kinds. Thus, *heaven*, considered as an "appellative word," is used to indicate *element, firmament, moon, planet, pole, sky, sun, star*, etc.; *book* to indicate *almanack, commentary, calendar, pamphlet, volume*, etc. In order to show that the word called for is a part or a kind of an appellative word, the character of the appellative word is written, and the initial letter of the desired word is added, sometimes at the left, sometimes at the right: as a *fruit* = apple, *fruit a* = apricot.

Again this scheme, though simple in theory, inevitably led to confusion and hence error. For example, Shakespeare, according to the Folio, wrote *porridge*; Bright would treat this word as a "kind" under the appellative word *feed*; the stenographer, therefore, jotted down *p feed*. But Bright's Table of Appellatives records *p feed* as *pottage* not *porridge*; *pottage*, therefore, is the word that emerges in the Quarto. Two other examples must suffice:

To go out of my *dialect* [Q. *dialogue*]. (Bright *d speech*, or *di speech*.)  
Horses are tied by the *head* [Q. *heels*]. (Bright *h part*, or *he part*.)

Several cruxes in the Quarto text may be explained by considering the problem of interpretation that, as a result of the "appellative" device, faced the stenographer. For instance, Shakespeare wrote the word *spherical* ("knaves, thieves, and treachers by spherical predominance"); the Quarto has *spiritual*. According to a contemporary man-

uscript addition<sup>7</sup> to Bright's Table of Appellatives, *spherical* is indicated by *world s*; and, presumably, our stenographer so wrote the word. But when later he came to transcribe his notes, observing that the initial letter *s* was placed at the right of the character for *world*, he assumed that an antonym was called for; the opposite of *worldly*, that begins with the letter *s*, is *spiritual*; and hence the error. Again, when Oswald, early in the morning (as later appears from the context), enters, he salutes Kent with "Good *dawning* to thee, friend." The Quarto, however, gives for *dawning* the word *deven*.<sup>8</sup> The stenographer, following Bright's Table of Appellative Words, indicated *dawning* by *day d*; but when later he came to transcribe his notes, he thought an antonym was called for, and wrote the colloquial *deven* (i.e., "Good evening").

#### DERIVATIVE FORMS

Such was the system by which a stenographer was to record any particular word a speaker might use. But this system, be it noted, provided indication only for what Bright calls the "primitive" form of words (as *virtue*); all "derivative" forms (as *virtuous*, *virtuously*, *virtuousness*, etc.) had to be guessed from the context. As Bright puts it: "Primitives and Derivatives are known by the language: as 'he is a *vertuous* man,' not 'a *vertue* man': '*feare* God, *honour* the king,' not '*fearful*,' so not '*honorable*.'" Thus, each character stood for some word in its "primitive" form only; later, when the stenographer came to transcribe his notes, he was required to write for each word the particular form—either "primitive" or "derivative"—the context demanded. If, as often happened, a choice was possible, his judgment or taste had to decide.

This lack of definiteness naturally led to many errors, involving not so much the sense as the exact verbal form the speaker employed. The following examples, selected from a large number, will make the nature of this error clear:

I am only *sorry* [Q. *sorrow*].

That's *sorry* [Q. *sorrows*] yet for thee.

The which *immediacy* [Q. *immediate*].

Our post shall be swift and *intelligent* [Q. *intelligence*] betwixt us.

<sup>7</sup> In the Bodleian copy, a photostatic reproduction of which I am using in this study.

<sup>8</sup> Subsequently changed by a proofreader to *even*.



His offense, *honesty* [Q. *honest*].  
 Twinkled on my *bastardizing* [Q. *bastardy*]. (Bright *b* son.)  
 The *revenging* [Q. *revengive*] gods.  
 This *judgment* [Q. *justice*] of the heavens. (Bright *j* judge.)  
*Scarcely* [Q. *scarce*] allay.  
 Appears too *grossly* [Q. *gross*].  
 To care for her *frowning* [Q. *frown*].  
 The *reposal* [Q. *reposure*] of any trust. (Bright *r* rest.)

Moreover, there are in the Quarto many variants from the Folio in such forms as *sir*, *sirrah*; *never*, *ne'er*; *while*, *whilst*; *between*, *betwixt*; *even*, *e'en*; *before*, *afore*; *atwain*, *in twain*; *till*, *until*; *oft*, *often*; *ere*, *ever*; *an*, *if*, etc. The same confusion constantly appears in the forms that verbs take; the following are typical:

If thou *be* [Q. *be'st*] as poor.  
 This fellow *has* [Q. *hath*] banished two on's daughters, and *did* [Q. *done*] the third a blessing.  
 If thou *lovest* [Q. *love*] me.  
 'Twill be ill *taken* [Q. *took*].

And in pronouns:

Despite of *mine* [Q. *my*] own nature.  
 I'll flesh *ye* [Q. *you*].  
 Will *you* [Q. *willst thou*] take her by the hand?  
 Dost *thou* [Q. *do you*] know me?

As a result of the stenographers' inability to tell from his notes exactly the form in which a word was spoken, he would tend to write the full rather than the contracted form; according to Miss Doran, in ninety-two instances he gives the full where the Folio gives the contracted form, usually, as in the following examples to the injury of the meter:

By her is poison'd; she *confesses* [Q. *hath confessed*] it.  
 Sir, I *love* [Q. *do love*] you more than words can wield the matter.  
 That hast this fortune on me? If thou'rt [Q. *beest*] noble  
 What mean'st [Q. *thou*] by this?  
 Thoud'st [Q. *Thou hadst*] shiver'd like an egg.

A different type of error would arise when the stenographer found himself unable to guess the "derivative" his jotting called for. A striking instance appears in the sentence:

Why brand they us  
 With base? with baseness? bastardy? base, base?



The stenographer was under the necessity of indicating the second line thus, "With *high b*, with *high b*, *b son*, *high b*, *high b*." Is it surprising that in desperation, he wrote merely: "Why brand they us with base bastardy"?

## VERBS

Bright makes some attempt to care for the tenses of verbs, yet leaves much to the context. He writes: "The present tense wanteth [i.e., lacks] a prick, and so is known from other tenses. A word of doing that endeth in *ing* (as *eating*, *drinking*, etc.) requireth two pricks under the body of the character. Other tenses depend upon these, and are plainly discerned by the nature of the language." Naturally, when so much is left to be determined by the language, the stenographer often hit upon the wrong tense. The resultant errors do not, as a rule, seriously affect the meaning; they fail, however, to give the exact words used by the poet. The following variants (the Folio reading is cited first) will illustrate: *I love*, *I do love*; *comes*, *came*; *fall*, *fallen*; *needed*, *needs*; *sleep*, *slept*; *wake*, *waked*; *declined*, *declining*; *writ*, *wrote*; *writes*, *writ*; *strucken*, *struck*; *did*, *hath done*; *prais'd*, *praise*; *tended*, *tends*; *hear*, *heard*; *heard*, *hear*; *was*, *is*; *taken*, *took*; *look'd*, *look*; *drown*, *drown'd*; *contented*, *content*; *leapt*, *leaps*; *subscribe*, *subscrib'd*; *send*, *is sent*; *make*, *made*; *stolen*, *stole*; *did challenge*, *had challenged*; *starr'd*, *starve*; *had*, *has*; *wast*, *art*; *circle*, *circled*, etc.

In the matter of auxiliary verbs, too, Bright's system is defective, leaving much to be decided by the context. He provides characters for *have*, *do*, *will*, *can*, and *am*, and then gives the following general direction: "If *have* be required, let the character for *have* be written. If *had* be required, write the character for *have* and make a prick on the left hand. If *did* be required, make the like prick on the side of the character for *do*. When *would* is required, write the character for *will* and read it *would*. For *should*, make a prick on the right side of *will*."

Since the characters for *will* and *can* had to do duty also for *would*, *should*, *could*, *shall*, *may*, and *might*, there naturally would arise many errors in the stenographer's transcript. Below I list some of the variants between the Folio and Quarto, citing the Folio reading first: *shall*, *will*; *will*, *can*; *wouldst*, *wilt*; *should*, *could*; *shall*, *can*; *shall*, *should*; *will*, *shall*; *would*, *could*; *should*, *could*; *could*, *would*; *should*,

would; shall, should; might, should; can, shall. As a rule, the meaning is not seriously affected, for the stenographer, according to his instructions, took into consideration the context.

#### PRONOUNS

In the case of pronouns, too, Bright's system is far from adequate. He provides characters only for *I, we, you, he, they, mine, thine, our, this, that, what, and which*, and treats all other pronouns (*me, who, those, she, etc.*) and all variant pronominal forms (*thou, ye, my, thy, etc.*) as "derivatives" of these, to be guessed from the context. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the matter of pronouns the Quarto of *Lear* presents more than fifty variations from the Folio text.<sup>9</sup>

Frequently, when a choice was possible, the stenographer gave the wrong form:

I'll pluck *ye* [Q. *you*] out.  
 Despite of *mine* [Q. *my*] own nature.  
 I remember *thine* [Q. *thy*] eyes well enough.  
 Conceive, and fare *thee* [Q. *you*] well.  
*You* [Q. *thou*] whom the heavens' plagues. . . .

Many errors are due to the failure of the stenographer to change the "primitive" forms of pronouns into the correct "derivatives":

Let her *who* [Q. *that*] would be rid of him.  
 Gods, who make *them* [Q. *their*] honours of men's impossibilities.  
 I am none of *these* [Q. *this*], my lord.  
 Upon *these* [Q. *those*] eyes of thine.

Sometimes his failure to guess the proper "derivative" led him into still further error:

*Folio*: Come, *your* hovel! Poor fool and knave, I have. . . .

*Quarto*: Come, *you* hovel poor; fool and knave, I have. . . .

*Folio*: A plague upon *you*, murderers, traitors all.

*Quarto*: A plague upon *your* murderous traitors all.

*Folio*: I beseech *your* pardon.

*Quarto*: I beseech *you* pardon *me*.

*Folio*: Or *your* fore-vouch'd affection fall into taint.

*Quarto*: Or *you* for vouch'd affections *fallen* into taint.

<sup>9</sup> In six cases the Quarto, in five cases the Folio, seems to be at fault—a fairly even distribution of casual errors.

An adequate discussion of the many variants in the *Lear* of 1608 arising from Bright's clumsy system for indicating pronouns would in itself constitute an interesting essay; but it is not my purpose here to supply an exhaustive treatment of the Quarto text. I must content myself with briefly illustrating the various types of error due to stenographic reporting, and leave to readers a study of details.

## NUMBER

Quite as confusing as his scheme for representing pronouns is Bright's method for indicating the singular and plural number of adjectives and adverbs. His directions may be summarized as follows:

1. If the article *a* appears before a word, it is obvious that the singular number is demanded.
2. If the article *the* appears, it is not clear which number is called for; and in order to indicate the plural the stenographer should add a prick at the left side of the character for *the*.
3. If neither *a* nor *the* precedes a word, the stenographer is left entirely at sea, and must guess from the context; for, as Bright naïvely puts it, "the rest is declared by the language."

Naturally, since the stenographer will have to guess in a great many instances, his text will often depart from "the true original." More than sixty-five cases of variation in number between the Quarto and Folio are to be noted. Usually there is little to choose between the two readings; indeed, Miss Doran admits that "there are as many as fifty good variants," and modern editors have freely used their taste in selecting the reading they thought better. A few examples must suffice to illustrate:

Nor are those empty-hearted whose low *sounds* [Q. *sound*]  
*Reverb* [Q. *Reverbs*] no hollowness.

Here's a night pities neither wise *men* [Q. *man*] nor *fools* [Q. *fool*].

Lay *hand* [Q. *hands*] upon him. *Sir* [Q. *Sirs*].

My *wits begin* [Q. *wit begins*] to turn.

Keep thy foot out of *brothels* [Q. *brothel*], thy hand out of *plackets* [Q. *placket*], thy pen from lenders' *books* [Q. *book*], and defy the foul fiend.

## COMPARISON

The subject "Of Comparison" Bright thus briefly discusses, using by way of illustration the adjective *good*—a "primitive" which must also stand for the "derivatives" *better* and *best*.

The Comparative degree is known from other by *than* following: as *gold is better than silver*, not *good than silver*, nor *best*. The superlative degree is declared by *of* following: as, *gold is best* [not *good*] *of metals*. When comparison is betwixt two, *of* signifieth the comparative degree: as, *better* [not *good*] *of twaine*.

No provision, however, is made for the many instances when neither *of* nor *than* is present to guide the stenographer; and hence, if the context gives him no aid, he is likely to guess wrongly:

'Tis *best* [Q. *good*] to give him way.

But even for want of that for which I am *richer* [Q. *rich*].

A *dear* [Q. *dearer*] father.

More *harder* [Q. *hard*] than. . . .

*Most royal* [Q. *Royal*].

In Bright's method for indicating still other classes of words similar opportunities for error exist; but I have not space to discuss every phase of his complicated system of shorthand. Having, I believe, cited enough evidence to prove that the copy for the 1608 Quarto of *Lear* was "taken down by Characterie," I must pass on to other and almost equally important aspects of that puzzling text.

A stenographic transcript of a play secured from a theatrical performance is bound to exhibit, besides errors due to the particular system of shorthand employed, also errors due to mishearing by the recorder, and errors due to the actors. We cannot always, of course, distinguish between these three types of error; but, allowing for occasional uncertainty, we can nevertheless be quite confident of our general conclusions.

The following examples, I think, may be regarded as illustrating the errors in the Quarto due to faulty hearing. If some of the errors seem strange, we should remember that the stenographer, writing with great speed after rapidly speaking actors, concerned himself with single words as uttered rather than with entire clauses or sentences, and had to jot down, on the instant, the character for the word he thought

he heard, without considering the context. When he came to transcribe his notes, he doubtless wrote down the words his characters called for, trusting to a later revision to smooth out difficulties. If the context failed to suggest corrections, or if, through carelessness, he left his original unaltered, the errors in hearing emerge in the printed play.

The *hot-blooded* [Q. *hot blood in*] France.

Than a *grac'd* [Q. *great*] palace.

No blown ambition doth our arms *incite* [Q. *in sight*].

*Stocking* [Q. *stopping*] his messenger.

To bear it *tamely* [Q. *lamely*].

Shall of [Q. *have*] a corn cry woe.

A *dog's obey'd* [Q. *dog so bad*] in office.

It were a delicate stratagem to *shoe* [Q. *shoot*] a troop of horse with *felt* [Q. *fell*].

Should make *thee worth* [Q. *the worst*]. . . .

That you *make known* [Q. *may know*] it is no. . . .

To be *oppos'd* [Q. *expos'd*] against the *jarring* [Q. *warring*] winds.

The *mysteries* [Q. *mistress*] of Hecate and the *night* [Q. *might*].

Striving to better, *oft* [Q. *ought*] we mar what's well.

Stands still in *esperance* [Q. *experience*].

More numerous, and far more interesting, are the textual variations due to the actors' incorrect rendering of the poet's lines—variations which, of course, would appear in any stenographic report of the performance. These are of two kinds: (1) errors arising from faulty memory and (2) additions or alterations made in the heat of acting or, perhaps, to heighten dramatic effectiveness.

Since Elizabethan troupes did not, as in modern times, give a single play in a long run, but presented many plays in sequence, the tax upon the memory of the actors was great. The following record by Henslowe of performances at the Rose will illustrate the point:

SEPT. 2, *The Jew of Malta*

SEPT. 3, *Tasso*

SEPT. 4, *Phillipo and Hippolito*

SEPT. 5, *The Venetian Comedy*

SEPT. 6, *Cuttlac*

SEPT. 7, *Massacre of France*

SEPT. 8, *Godfrey of Bulloigne*

SEPT. 9, *Mahomet*

SEPT. 10, *Galiaso*

SEPT. 11, *Bellendon*

SEPT. 12, *Tamburlaine*

It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the players sometimes forgot the exact wording of their lines. When their memory of a particular word or phrase failed, they extemporized a suitable equivalent, and

the audience, as a rule, was none the wiser. Naturally, one of the most common slips of memory would involve the order of words in a sentence. The following transpositions—many others could be cited—will illustrate this error; they are not, it will be observed, such mistakes as a copyist or a typesetter following a manuscript would often make, or such changes as an author of Shakespeare's experience would be likely to leave to a revision.

*Folio:* Ay, my good lord.

*Quarto:* Ay, good my lord.

*Folio:* Than doth within a dull, stale. . . .

*Quarto:* Than doth within a stale, dull. . . .

*Folio:* Then must we look from his age to receive.

*Quarto:* Then must we look to receive from his age.

*Folio:* I have heard him oft.

*Quarto:* I have often heard him.

*Folio:* Nuncle, give me an egg.

*Quarto:* Give me an egg, nuncle.

*Folio:* That justly think'st, and hast most rightly said.

*Quarto:* That rightly thinks, and hast most justly said.

*Folio:* Which is the justice, which is the thief?

*Quarto:* Which is the thief, which is the justice?

*Folio:* I tripped up thy heels and beat thee.

*Quarto:* I beat thee and tripped up thy heels.

*Folio:* Maugre thy strength, youth, place, and eminence.

*Quarto:* Maugre thy strength, place, youth, and eminence.

*Folio:* But I have a son, sir.

*Quarto:* But I have, sir, a son.

*Folio:* Our flesh and blood, my lord, is grown so vile.

*Quarto:* Our flesh and blood is grown so vile, my lord.

*Folio:* And bring you where both fire and food is ready.

*Quarto:* And bring you where both food and fire is ready.

*Folio:* They could not, would not.

*Quarto:* They would not, could not.

*Folio:* If ever I did hate thee.

*Quarto:* If I did ever hate thee.

*Folio:* Be by, good madam.

*Quarto:* Good madam, be by.

*Folio:* Are you not Kent?

*Quarto:* Are not you Kent?

Frequently the actor would substitute for a word written by the author a word that carried the same, or nearly the same, sense:

. . . And the *high* [Q. *bleak*] winds  
Do sorely ruffle; for many miles about  
There's *scarce* [Q. *not*] a bush.

Since both *high* and *scarce* are in Bright's list of 558 fundamental words, each provided with a simple character and hence easily recorded by the stenographer, we must assume that the changes were made by the actor. In the following instances, also, we have "characterical" words replaced in the Quarto by words for which the stenographer had to resort to roundabout means of recording:

Instruments to *plague* [Q. *scourge*] us.

Take the shadow of this *tree* [Q. *bush*; probably according with the stage setting].

You see me here, you gods, a poor old *man* [Q. *fellow*].

And to no *other* [Q. *further*] pretense of danger.

Briefness and fortune *work* [Q. *help*].

*Unless* [Q. *except*] things be cut shorter.

The great rage, you see, is *kill'd* [Q. *cured*] in him.

Through tatter'd *clothes great* [Q. *rags small*] vices do appear.

When majesty *falls* [Q. *stoops*] to folly.

I'd *drive* [Q. *send*] ye cackling home.

Sir, in good *faith* [Q. *sooth*].

In the following instances, Bright has a character for both the variant words, so that again we must think the actor responsible for the change:

Here is the guess of their *true* [Q. *great*] strength and forces.

Alas, sir, *are* [Q. *sit*] you here?

By *rule* [Q. *right*] of Knighthood.

Can distinguish *sound* [Q. *sense*].

This is a fellow of the self-same *colour* [Q. *nature*].

*Light* [Q. *fall*] on thy daughters.

If he *distaste* [Q. *dislike*] it.

Thou shouldst not have been old *till* [Q. *before*].

Do you busy yourself *with* [Q. *about*] that?  
They have travel'd *all the* [Q. *hard to-*] night.

From more than a hundred other examples, a few may be added, without comment:

How chances the King comes with so small a *number* [Q. *train*]?  
Within the *lists* [Q. *hoast*] of the army.  
A power already *footed* [Q. *landed*].  
What is his *fault* [Q. *offense*].  
Rule in this *realm* [Q. *kingdom*].  
But I will punish *home* [Q. *sure*].

Sometimes the actor altered more than a single word:

*Folio*: I am made of that self metal as my sister.

*Quarto*: I am made of the self-same metal that my sister is.

*Folio*: Remember what I have said.

*Quarto*: Remember what I tell you.

Often, in the heat of acting, the player added a word or phrase that seemed to him, we may suppose, to increase the effectiveness of the line. In the following examples (the added words are set in brackets) the blank verse is destroyed:

[*'S foot*], I should. . . .  
[*Come, sir,*] this admiration. . . .  
[*Now,*] I prithee, daughter. . . .  
[*Sir,*] will you. . . .  
[*Why,*] what. . . .  
[*O!*] thou'lt come. . . .  
[*Very*] well, madam. . . .  
[*Alack, sir!*] you can not see your way.  
[*Well,*] let it be so.  
Do you mark that [, *my lord*]?  
Have you not spoken 'gainst the Duke of Cornwall [*ought*]?  
Not altogether so [, *sir*].  
Is this well spoken [, *now*]?  
Mean you to enjoy him [, *then*]?  
The adversary I come to cope [*withal*].  
This is [*mere*] practice, Gloucester.  
Wherefore to Dover? Let him [*first*] answer that.  
Is it [*no more*] but this, a tardiness in nature?  
Ay, madam, in the heaviness of [*his*] sleep.  
Pray [*you*], do not, sir.



The following examples are drawn from prose passages:

[*Me thinks*] you are too much of late i' th' frown.

[*Why*] what canst [*thou*] tell, [*my*] boy?

It is two days [*ago*] since I. . . .

Ha, ha! [*look!*] he wears cruel garters.

Sometimes, it would seem, the actor actually tried to improve on Shakespeare, or at least to make the lines clearer:

Not a nose among *twenty* [Q. *a hundred*].

If not, I'll ne'er trust *medicine* [Q. *poison*].

I'll talk with this *same* [Q. *most*] learned Theban.

But two *years* [Q. *hours*] o' the trade.

Then, I prithee, be merry; thy wit shall *not* [Q. *nerer*] go slipshod.

Thou worse than any *name* [Q. *thing*].

In which your pain *that way*, I'll *this* [Q. *I'll this way, you that*].

Strangely enough, the greatest liberties with the text seem to have been taken by Burbage, in the character of Lear. This is perhaps natural, since Burbage, who generally assumed leading parts, had to carry thousands of lines in memory; and, further, being as inspired an actor as Shakespeare was a poet, he no doubt felt free at times to alter the text for better histrionic effect. A few examples will show how he treated his part.

When he first enters, he was supposed to say, in correct blank verse:

Meantime we shall express our darker purpose.

Give me the map here. Know that we have divided. . . .

But Burbage—if we may trust the Quarto—spoke the second line with the regal authority and testiness he knew to be characteristic of Lear. Turning to an attendant, he gave the crisp order: "The map, there!" and then to the assembled courtiers: "Know, we have divided. . . ." If the meter suffered, the line gained in vigor. Again, when Cordelia quietly answered "Nothing," Lear was supposed to say:

How, how, Cordelia! mend your speech a little,

Lest you may mar your fortunes.

But, again ignoring the meter, Burbage made the irascible old King say with impatience:

Go to! Go to! mend your speech a little,

Lest it may mar your fortunes.

In a later scene, after Goneril had cruelly mistreated him, Lear, according to the Folio, says:

Does any here know me? This is not Lear:  
Does Lear walk thus? speak thus? Where are his eyes?  
Either his motion weakens, his discernings  
Are lethargied. Ha! waking? 'tis not so.

But, according to the Quarto, Burbage sought to make the lines clearer and more forceful, even though the blank verse had to be sacrificed:

Does any here know me? *Why*, this is not Lear:  
Does Lear walk thus? speak thus? Where are his eyes?  
Either his motion weakens, *or* his discernings  
Are lethargied. *Sleeping or waking?* Ha! *Sure*, tis not so!

Later in the same scene, after Goneril has ordered him to dismiss his train, the old man, with broken heart, says to his followers: "Go, go, my people!" Burbage must have uttered these words with deep emotion. Seventeen lines later Lear goes out, exclaiming, according to Shakespeare:

How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is  
To have a thankless child! Away, away.

But Burbage, seeing an opportunity to make this exit more pathetic by repeating the phrase he had just rendered appealing, changed "Away, away" into the grief-stricken dismissal: "Go, go, my people." The repetition of the phrase, as he turned from Goneril to his silent followers, must have been very moving.

Few readers of the play can ever forget Lear's pathetic boast to Goneril, "Yet have I left a daughter!"; and doubtless Burbage spoke the words, charged as they were with irony, in a telling way. When, four speeches later, Shakespeare has Lear exclaim: "I have another daughter," Burbage, with the earlier phrase still echoing in his mind, substituted, "Yet have I left a daughter!" Again the repetition must have proved effective. And, at the close of the scene, it was surely an actor, more concerned with passion than poetry, who changed the lines

O! let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven;  
Keep me in temper; I would not be mad.

into

O let me not be mad, sweet heaven!

I would not be mad! Keep me in temper! I would not be mad!

Of variant readings that can be attributed to the actors, I have counted approximately 123 changed words, 30 transpositions in word order, and 65 additions of more or less colorless exclamations or phrases. These statistics are valuable in that they reveal how inaccurately Shakespeare's actors spoke the master's lines upon the stage, a point on which, I believe, evidence has hitherto been lacking.

Various other aspects of the Quarto and Folio texts of *King Lear* I am unable here to discuss, such as corruptions in the Quarto due to the poor copy supplied by the stenographer, the evidence of a later reworking by Shakespeare of portions of some scenes, and the nature of the corrections introduced by a proofreader in certain revised sheets of the Quarto. My purpose will have been achieved if I have shown that the original copy for the Quarto was secured by means of shorthand.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS

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WILLIAM PAINTER AND THE VOGUE OF CHAUCER  
AS A MORAL TEACHER

WILLIAM PAINTER'S *Chaucer new Painted* (ca. 1623),<sup>1</sup> a work hitherto known to Chaucer students only by title, but now in the Huntington Library, deserves notice as an evidence of the popular vogue of Chaucer among the less learned Elizabethans; in particular it shows the increasing interest in Chaucer as a moral teacher. Painter's book is not an adaptation of Chaucer's tales, as the title might indicate, but a collection of proverbs and prudential wisdom, set in a frame vaguely imitative of *The Canterbury Tales*. The author is not the same as the compiler of *The Palace of Pleasure*, but another of the same name, apparently a tradesman in the service of the merchant prince Sir Paul Pinder.

In the popular consciousness of the Elizabethans, Chaucer enjoyed two reputations: one as a teller of tales (tales which were crudely imitated in such productions as *The Cobbler of Canterbury*) and another as the purveyor of wisdom and the teacher of good morality. Painter's title made a catchy advertisement designed to appeal to middle-class readers, some of whom owned the most recent edition of Chaucer's works, the 1602 folio edited by Speght; some of whom could not afford such an expensive volume but would buy a less costly imitation. Both the lover of tales and the seeker for wisdom would be attracted by the title. Even after the former had discovered that the book contained no fiction, he would still agree that the title was eminently fit, for the word "Chaucer" also connoted to him precisely what Painter sought to provide: aphoristic wisdom, served up palatably.

The modern reader loses sight of the interest in the medieval poet for his proverbial lore. But in Chaucer's own time and after, even *The*

<sup>1</sup> The title-page of this small octavo volume is missing. The heading on the first page of the text is CHAUCER/new Painted./BY/WILLIAM PAINTER. It consists of Sigs. A<sup>3</sup>-4, B-D<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>; imperfect at the end. The work was bought at the Britwell sale, March 15-16, 1926. Miss Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* (Cambridge, 1925), I, 198, in referring to the title, comments: "No copy is now known to exist."

Painter's book was licensed on May 14, 1623, to Eld and Flesher (*Stationers' Register* [Arber's transcript], IV, 96; see Spurgeon, III, 65).

[MODERN PHILOLOGY, November, 1933]

*Tale of Melibeus* was not regarded as a dreary homiletic waste, but as a popular work, worthy to be preserved in many manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, one of the manuscripts of this tale, preserved in the Huntington Library, is entitled *Prou[er]bis*.<sup>3</sup> The Elizabethan appetite for sermon literature was as keen as that of the Middle Ages. Particularly did the Elizabethans relish aphoristic wisdom, a taste which Shakespeare so cleverly satirizes in the wise saws of Polonius. In Chaucer they found hundreds of quotable proverbs, many of them so rhymed as to be easily remembered. Not content with the aphoristic quotations in the canonical works, the Elizabethans printed spurious additions containing matter of this type, such, for example, as "A saying of Dan Iohn," "A prouerbe against couetise and negligence," and other short minor poems. The zest for reading proverbs out of Chaucer seems to have grown in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with the increase in popularity of all types of aphoristic learning. Thomas Speght calls attention in the preface to the 1598 edition of Chaucer to the fact that the reader will find therein "Sentences noted." By the time of the 1602 edition, the desire of the reader for easily accessible Chaucerian proverbs had reached such a point that Speght felt called upon to "improve" his work by marking all the proverbs and aphorisms which seemed to him worthy of attention. Hence the margins of this edition are copiously sprinkled with pointing hands opposite the good sentences. Peculiarly numerous are the marginal signs in *The Tale of Melibeus*. Twice in the prefatory matter Speght thought it worth while to emphasize this improvement: in the dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, where he notes that "I haue reformed the whole Worke, whereby Chaucer for the most part is restored to his owne Antiquitie; and noted withall most of his Sentences and Prouerbes; . . ." and again in the preface to the reader, where he advertises that the new edition has "Prouerbes and Sentences marked."

It was Speght's 1602 edition which probably suggested to Painter his own production. Little else besides suggestion came from Chaucer, for once the plan had been hit upon, Painter inserted stock proverbs, common in the utterance of his day, into his versified wisdom-book.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogued as HM 144; date about 1460-70. I am indebted to Professor John M. Manly for calling my attention to this title in the manuscript.

Evidently the venture was a success, for the one copy which has survived seems to have been worn ragged with reading.

To give a frame to his work, the author imagines himself meeting on Christmas Day a merry company who invite him to join in their festivities at a nearby inn, where they amuse themselves by reciting stories, proverbs, and riddles, and in singing songs. Since the person who does not perform cannot partake of the apples and ale, a master of ceremonies watches to see that all participate. Painter warns the reader not to expect any tales:

Some tales and iests they had which Ile omit,  
Because they nothing to my purpose fit:  
But all the ancient Prouerbs that I well  
Remember, I will truly to you tell [Sig. B 1].

After the company have recited innumerable proverbs, riddles and songs<sup>4</sup> follow until it comes the author's time to perform:

Then store of Apples in the fire was laid,  
And Ale was gone for as the good wife said.  
Then one that was there in the company,  
Said masters, if you will be ruled me by,  
Who will not sing, read riddle, nor tell tale,  
Shall neither taste of Apples nor of Ale,

Whereto the company agreed all,  
And to begin the lot thus out did fall,  
They at the rowes end would their Riddles tell,  
Which I must read that neuer well could spell [Sig. D 5v.].

Having neither proverb, song, nor riddle, the author at length gives an anagram glorifying his mother, Ione Clark, followed by another complimenting woman when one of the party has made an unflattering anagram on the word "wife." After this point the leaves in the text are lost. Into this frame Painter also inserts a debate on the merits of tobacco with the conclusion that it is good if temperately used.

Imitative of Chaucer is the framework with its festive spirit, its tavern setting, and its master of ceremonies who enforces the rules of the party. Imitative also is the versification in rhyming couplets.

<sup>4</sup> Describing the songs, Painter comments:

"To tell the tunes I thinke it me behoue,  
The first is, *Liue with mee and bee my loue.*  
The second is if I bee not decei'd,  
*Mad Tom of Bedlam, of his wits bereau'd*" (Sig. D 6).

Perhaps also imitative is the author's apology for his lack of skill in the preface to the reader.

The proverbs are chiefly moralistic and prudential:

In high affaires that doth surmount thy state,  
See that thou meddle not in any rate:  
For hee shall scarce himselfe from danger keepe,  
That doth awake a Lyon out of sleepe.

Against thy King and Countrey plot none ill,  
For by some meanes it knowne be surely will;  
Examples hereof every day appeares:  
Besides that, little Pitchers all haue eares [Sig. B 1v.].

.....  
Looke to the end before that thou begin,  
What thou thereby maist either lose or winne,  
For hast makes wast, the old prouerbe doth say:  
And praise at night the fairenesse of the day [Sig. B 2].

.....  
When the Steed's stoln, they'll lock the stable door,  
That scarce would euer put it too before:  
And Faulknors often say, had I but wist,  
I would haue kept my hauke still on my fist [Sig. B 4].

.....  
When thriftlesse prodigals the couetous blame,  
And drunkards doe on vsurers cry shame,  
Tis more then time for iustice to come in,  
When vice thus openly rebuketh sinne [Sig. B 6].

.....  
The prouerb sayth, The fat Sow in the stye,  
Nere thinkes what ayles the hungry that doth cry:  
Yet too much pittie the same prouerb say,  
Bring vnto ruine a great City may [Sig. C 1v.].

.....  
He that is borne to neither goods nor lands,  
Must not thinke scorne to labour with his hands,  
For the old father said, Yea by Saint Marry  
That's a proud horse will not his prouander carry [Sig. C 3.].

.....  
He that his bed keepes when the weather is cold,  
Tis pittie but he be a hungry should:  
And those that haunt Theaters certainly,  
Shall dance the beggers galliard ere they dye [Sig. D 2v.].



Such wisdom one might expect to come from the pen of a servant of Sir Paul Pinder, a wealthy merchant, who stood in much the same relation to James I and Charles I that Thomas Gresham did to Queen Elizabeth, a moneylender to the government, a commercial envoy to trading centers in Italy and the Levant. Painter's dedication to Sir Paul, "late Lord Embassadour At Constantinople," implies some relationship to the family:

Right worshipfull Sir, for many fauours shown  
To me, that neuer yet deserued One.  
Some from your selfe: your brother many Moe:  
Your Sister, and their Children also.  
And though I no way can requite the same,  
If I forget them should, I were to blame;  
For meere humanity all men incite,  
Vnto their power all kindnesse to requite.  
I haue of late some little labour tooke,  
The English prouerbs to write in a booke;  
Though rudely, yet the best that I could doe,  
And [to yo]ur Worship Dedicate it to:  
Yet certainly I thereby shall declare,  
The loue which I doe vnto learning beare:  
And I haue hope as the old prouerbe spake,  
That barking curs oft times great mastifs wake,  
That this my booke some scholler may incite,  
Ere it bee long some better for to write.  
If this I shall by any see amended,  
I shall bee pleased and no whit offended.  
.  
.  
.  
Your Worships Oratour, wholly deuoted,  
Till death in sunder cut the vitall threed.—W. P.

A further assertion of his little learning and his lowly position appears in the epistle "To The Reader":

Good courteous Reader, be thou young or old,  
Here giue me leaue to make a little bold,  
To shew to thee my want of learning here,  
Which after will in euery verse appeare,  
I am well knowne no Scholler for to be,  
Therefore marke well what I shall say to thee,  
A foot-man may more easilier goe a mile,  
Then a lame cripple may ouer a stile.  
A Scholler might a thing of farre more worth,

With much lesse labour very well set forth,  
 For had this by a Scholler beene set forth,  
 It surely would haue beene of lesser worth,  
 For he that wealthy is must liberally  
 Contribute to the poores necessity.  
 I seeing those that wealthy were and rich,  
 Into the treasury did cast in much,  
 I my one mite, like to the widow poore,  
 Likewise cast in euen all I had in store,  
 For had I wit and learning as haue many,  
 I would as bountifull haue beene as any,  
 Though learning euer did prohibit me,  
 One of her Schollars in her schoole to bee.  
 Yet common reason doth to mee declare,  
 All they that worke, not master builders are,  
 For some must carry water and some stones,  
 And some fill vp the midst with shells and bones:  
 And some must carry morter, and some other lime,  
 And some must tend the tooles all dinner time,  
 And in the euening safely them vp lay,  
 That in the morning nought bee wanting may.  
 If I accounted like the worst of these  
 Shall bee, it will mee both content and please:  
 And I to thee will further promise make,  
 To quit thy loue some greater paines Ile take:  
 . . . . .  
 Though Poetry my lines may seeme to shame,  
 Yet truly William Painter is my name.

Painter is keenly aware of the group to whom his book will appeal. He is one of the people himself, as his apologetic dedication and preface indicate, and it is his desire to provide something which he imagines is in the vein of the teacher Chaucer, something which his tradesmen-friends will find of profit and delight.

The Renaissance conception of Chaucer as a moral teacher, so aptly illustrated by Painter, is indicated by many allusions to this quality in the poet. Though a few writers saw in *The Canterbury Tales* chiefly scurrility, ministers and moralists repeatedly pointed their lessons with episodes and wise sayings from the old poet.<sup>5</sup> Apt quotations

<sup>5</sup> Spurgeon, I, xxi. Many illustrations in support of this statement are to be found in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century allusions cited by Miss Spurgeon; cf. esp. I, 95-210, *passim*.

A good illustration of the Renaissance effort to extract wisdom from Chaucer is pro-

were found in Chaucer, or attributed to Chaucer, to clinch an argument. Such a use is illustrated in E. K.'s "Vncouth, vnkiste, sayde the olde famous Poete Chaucer."<sup>6</sup> Among the virtues which Henry Peacham found to praise in Chaucer were his excellent "Similitudes."<sup>7</sup> In addition to the good morality conventionally described as the lesson to be found in Chaucer, Protestants found in his satires of priests and clerics authoritative support for their own attacks on papists. The spurious *Ploughman's Tale*, accepted as by Chaucer, was especially pleasing to Protestant propagandists. Indeed, an edition appeared in 1606 with the pointed title: *The Plough-mans Tale. Shewing by the doctrine and liues of the Romish Clergie, that the Pope is Antichrist, and they his Ministers. Written by Sir Geffrey Chaucer, Knight, amongst his Canterburie tales; and now set out apart from the rest, with a short exposition of the words and matters, for the capacite and vnderstanding of the simpler sort of Readers.*<sup>8</sup> In this case, the editor of the tale, like Painter after him, was using Chaucer to appeal to the less aristocratic readers. William Vaughan quoted *The Ploughman's Tale* in *The Golden Fleece* (1626), and put into the mouth of Chaucer a ten-page oration

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vided in *Greene's Vision* (1592), attributed to Robert Greene. Gower, in this dialogue, rebukes Chaucer for his love poetry. The latter is provoked at Gower's charges that his works are useless in virtuous instruction, and replies: "... I will shew thee for instance, such sentences as may like the grauest, please the wisest, and instruct the youngest and wantonnest, and they be these; first of the disposition of women" (Sig. C 4v.). Twenty aphorisms follow with the heading, "Sentences collected out of the Authours bookes."

Thomas Nash, self-styled Philopolites, in *Quaternio Or A Fourefooll Way To A Happie Life* (1633), describes a countryman reading for amusement the works of "old Ieffrey Chawcer," from whose tales he extracts not merriment but wisdom: "And one while I draw out of him his Summers-tale; by which I learne how an honest farmer rewarded a cousening Fryar with a Legacie, and how he was perplexed about the division of it. Sometimes his Plow-mans tale, wherein I see the pride, covetousness, hypocrisie, and dissimulation of the Abbots and Priors, Monkes and Fryars of former ages. Sometimes his Marchants-tale, by which I learne what inconveniences doe ensue when crooked age and youth, *January* and *May*, are linked in marriage together. Sometimes his Manciples-tale, where I behold the punishment due to tale-tellers and newes-mögers, pictured to the life in *Phoebus* his Crow. Sometimes his pardoners tale, wherein I see the fruits and effects of covetousnesse, drunkennesse, dice, swearing and ryot. And sometimes his Nunnes Priests tale, by which I am taught to beware of flatterers, smooth-tongu'd dissemblers, frothy Complementers, windie bladders, that vent out nothing else but smooth dissimulations, and by hypocritical delusions, that with their capring wits can delude the vnderstanding with as much dexterity, as the juggling Mountebanke or deluding Mimicke can the outward senses, . . ." (pp. 26-27; not quoted by Miss Spurgeon).

\* Spurgeon, I, 117; *Letter to Gabriel Harvey*, prefixed to *The Shepheards Calender* (1579).

\* Spurgeon, I, 197; *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622).

\* Spurgeon, I, 177.

against the Pope at the court of Apollo!<sup>9</sup> Thus it was that Chaucer took his place in the minds of the populace as a sage and a prophet who foresaw the evils of the papacy. Proverbs from such an authority would carry weight in any speech or controversy. Doubtless many an apprentice and shopkeeper who conned Painter's collection of proverbs quoted them "as Chaucer saith."

Painter's mild defense of tobacco,<sup>10</sup> published here under the aegis

<sup>9</sup> T. S. Graves, "Some Chaucer Allusions (1561-1700)," *Studies in Philology*, XX (1923), 469-78.

<sup>10</sup> The dialogue, as set forth by Painter, gives some interesting sidelights on the smoking customs of the day (Sigs. D 3v.-D 5):

"But some there was that would Tobacco take,  
Which as it seemed did one offended make.  
One once, said he, Tobacco seed did sow,  
I thinke it is the smallest seed that grow,  
And would to God that it as small leaues bore,  
Then in this land there would not be such store,  
For many are so bewicht it to,  
That they thereby will quite themselves vndoe.  
It makes them dally to mispend much time,  
And neuer haue enough of beare and wine.  
And neuer any good that I did heare  
It one man did this flue and thirty yeare.  
Beside the charge it putteth men vnto,  
There is about it such a deale of doe,  
First one must cut it, and then must it dry,  
And then a while acooling let it lye.  
Then pipe and stopper both must be ready,  
And then a coale to light it presently,  
Which they hold in a little payre of tongs,  
A pipe case also hereunto belongs,  
And then a boxe you alwayes ready see,  
To put vp that that shall vntaken be,  
Which made of leather is, and gilt brauely,  
And so there are be made of luory,  
And some of siluer are, and some of tinne,  
And some of horne, which are not worth a pinne.  
And some of plate are made, and some of brasse,  
For those of paper good for nothing was,  
And some affect it so as many say,  
That they will take it riding on the way,  
And such must euer haue in readinesse  
A tinder box, or else a burning glasse.  
This charge and trouble dally doth proceed,  
By taking of that stinking Indian weed.  
Would all mens like mine from it were turned.  
Then ere they take it would it should be burned.

When I saw none would, I did vndertake  
Before them all this answer for to make:  
Saying, Sir if you spoke had by aduice,  
These speeches might haue well beene spoke at twice,  
For I my selfe some good haue had thereby,  
Which Ile conceale lest you should thinke I lye.  
And for the charge you say thereby arise,

of Chaucer, is of some interest in connection with a defense of smoking which seems to have appeared in 1617, attributed to Chaucer.<sup>11</sup> The defense seems to be lost, but it was replied to by Richard Brathwaite, the commentator on Chaucer, who appended to *The Smoaking Age* (1617), "Chaucer's Incensed Ghost," verses in which he rebukes the previous writer for defaming the dead poet by making him give credit to tobacco for his poetic inspiration.<sup>12</sup> Evidently someone had put in to the mouth of the moral teacher Chaucer anachronistic testimonials to the value of the Indian weed. Painter in all probability remembered the poetic flying over tobacco under Chaucer's name, and thought it

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It is not great to those men that be wise.  
 If things abused should be vsed no more,  
 Tobacco then should company haue store,  
 For bread is daily giuen to dogges and beares,  
 Which serue for nought but hinder mens affaires:  
 And if that come to mault conuerted be,  
 That's so abused it would pittie one to see,  
 For many will more like to beasts then men,  
 Drinke more in one day then would serue for ten,  
 And some in one month spend more in good cheare  
 Then would suffice the best part of the yeare.  
 And some will haue a gay suit on his backe,  
 Though hee and all his houshold victuals lacke:  
 And yet I thinke for all this great abuse,  
 You'll say there is of these a lawfull vse.  
 So worldly wealth who so too much desire,  
 Shall find it of the nature of the fire,  
 Whereof a little doth at no time harme,  
 But oft times good cold bodies for to warme.  
 Whenas great flames the body scorch and burne,  
 So too much wealth oft times to woe doth turne,  
 But time, and place, and quantities required,  
 Before that any thing should bee desired:  
 For if there dung should in your Chimnye lye,  
 You out of doores would throw it presently:  
 And if there fire should on the dunghill be,  
 You soone would fetch it into your chimney.  
 Yet both of these are good in places fit,  
 And this is all that I will say of it:  
 Who good finds by it may sometimes it vse,  
 And whom it hurts, from taking Ile excuse."

Attempts had been made to plant tobacco in England in 1571. Hakluyt wrote in 1582 (*Voyages*, V, 242): "The seed of Tobacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of their rheumes." Cf. C. M. MacInnes, *The Early English Tobacco Trade* (London, 1926), p. 28. The allusion in Painter's poem to "this flue and thirty yeare" can hardly be taken as anything more than an approximation of the time since the introduction of the smoking habit.

<sup>11</sup> Miss Spurgeon (III, 65) mentions this poem as *A Poem in praise of tobacco*, attributed to Chaucer, but adds: "We have not been able to identify the original."

<sup>12</sup> Brathwaite's poem is reprinted by Miss Spurgeon in "Richard Brathwaite's Comments," *Chaucer Society*, XXXIII (1901), viii-xi.

fitting to present under the same worthy auspices his own dialogue which counseled temperance and defended the herb to the satisfaction of the merchants engaged in the trade.

Although polite letters would not mourn the loss of Painter's little volume, it gives interesting testimony of the taste of the people for wisdom literature. Doubtless merry gatherings would whet their wits to remember just such proverbs as Painter recites from the Christmas tavern games. From the dame's school onward every boy had written in his copybook and committed to memory countless wise saws. Children heard them from their parents; adults listened and approved such wisdom from the pulpit; statesmen wrote down aphorisms in their commonplace books; and even the jestbooks preserved the lighter and more comical sayings. Thus the recital of proverbs, mixed with songs, riddles, and anagrams over Christmas ale and apples, provided the tradesman-author with a vehicle for setting forth a pamphlet, "both pleasant and profitable." Geoffrey Chaucer, long known for his delectable wisdom, Painter chose as godfather to the work, knowing that the title would catch the eye of every loiterer around the book-stalls of St. Paul's.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

# THE QUESTION OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN *L'ALLEGRO* AND *IL PENNEROSO*

IN AN essay on the youth of Milton Professor James Holly Hanford suggests that at some time toward the end of the year 1629 Milton resolved "to devote himself to something higher and more serious than amatory lyrics," and that this resolution "marks a definite stage in his inner history."<sup>1</sup> The first poem to reflect this change is the sixth Latin elegy; it "represents a definite resolution regarding his life work."<sup>2</sup> Later in the same essay Hanford describes *L'Allegro* and *Il Penneroso* as "studiously objective,"<sup>3</sup> and therefore excludes them as autobiographical evidence bearing on Milton's development at this period. Yet before the writing of these companion pieces, though after the Latin poem reflecting Milton's devotion "to something higher and more serious than amatory lyrics," the two facetious poems on Hobson were composed—a fact which Hanford explains by saying that "obviously we need look for no such complete break with the past as would result from a sudden religious conversion."<sup>4</sup> But if it can be shown that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penneroso* may be regarded as partly autobiographical, the significance of the decision recognized and described by Professor Hanford will be broadened: Milton's serious consideration of the problem involved would *begin* at about the time of "Elegy VI" and *culminate* at the beginning of the Horton period, so that the poems on Hobson's death would precede the final decision instead of seeming not altogether consistent with it; and the decision itself would imply the abandonment not only of "amatory lyrics," but of all verse not motivated by a somewhat serious purpose. For if *L'Allegro* and *Il Penneroso* are to any marked extent autobiographical, they are, as Moody suggested,<sup>5</sup> "a kind of summing up of . . . two possible attitudes toward life," and they represent something like a weighing in poetry of two alternatives, either but not both capable of full development.

<sup>1</sup> "The Youth of Milton," *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne* ("University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature" [New York, 1925], Vol. I), p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton* (Boston, 1899), p. 24.

The first question involved in this interpretation of the two poems is whether they do, as Masson stated, describe "an ideal day—a day of twelve hours." If they do literally that, then they may well be, as Hanford has elsewhere suggested,<sup>6</sup> only "parallel pictures of contrasting moods," or "contrasting movements in a musical composition." On the other hand, if they represent not ideal days, but the whole life or future of the carefree man and of the meditative man, then it is at least possible that Milton wrote them partly to weigh what lay before him if he decided to cultivate the light-hearted or the more thoughtful strain in his own character. On this question of the time represented, many editors of the early poems seem inclined at least to qualify Masson's suggestion. William P. Trent,<sup>7</sup> A. W. Verity,<sup>8</sup> William Vaughn Moody,<sup>9</sup> and William Allan Neilson,<sup>10</sup> while they admit that Milton arranges events in the order of their occurrence in the day, all doubt that he aims to depict only a single day, and imply that he intended to sketch also "the general tenor of the life of his characters."<sup>11</sup> Indeed, many words in the poems themselves indicate that the actions described are habitual and general rather than occasional or particular, for example, "oft" (ll. 53, 125), "sometime" (l. 57), "sometimes" (l. 91), and "ever" (l. 135) in *L'Allegro*; and "oft" (ll. 63, 71, 73, 121), "sometime" (l. 97), and "never" (l. 155) in *Il Penseroso*. Furthermore, the workaday occupations of lines 63–68 in *L'Allegro* can hardly refer to the "Sunshine Holyday" of line 98; and lines 87–90 offer a choice of seasons, indicating that the poet has in mind no definite time. But the question of the "ideal day" depends largely on lines 117–34 of *L'Allegro*: do Mirth and *L'Allegro*, in the poet's imagination, actually go to the city in the evening? If "then" (l. 117) means later than the time or hour when the rustics, in contrast to "us" (Mirth and *L'Allegro*), have gone to bed, but not necessarily on the same evenings when "we" have watched their festivities, the lines do refer to the actual presence of the pair in the cities. Verity gives additional reasons for this view;<sup>12</sup> Trent, summing up the opposite opinion,

<sup>6</sup> *A Milton Handbook* (New York, 1926), p. 118.

<sup>7</sup> John Milton's "*L'Allegro*," "*Il Penseroso*," "*Comus*," and "*Lycidas*" (New York, 1912), p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Milton's Ode on "The Morning of Christ's Nativity," "*L'Allegro*," "*Il Penseroso*" and "*Lycidas*" (Cambridge, 1918), p. xxxi.

<sup>9</sup> *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> *Milton's Minor Poems* (Chicago, 1900), p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Trent, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 87 f.



concludes, "But, after all, I must confess that I should prefer to get *L'Allegro* to the city in person, and that I do it whenever I read the poem uncritically."<sup>13</sup> The difficulties in the way seem much slighter than to explain how "the busy hum of men" (l. 118) is to be found in books, or how "the well-trod stage" (l. 131) can refer to the reading of plays.

It seems clear, then, that Milton did not intend either poem to depict any single period of twelve hours. The details in both are, to be sure, arranged chronologically: in *L'Allegro*, from morning to evening; in *Il Penneroso*, from evening to morning. Perhaps critics of the poems could be persuaded to agree that each one represents a composite chronology of the ideal days in the life of its hero, but that the events of neither could be crowded into any one twelve-hour period, ideal or not. Indeed, something of the sort is probably what Masson actually meant to imply; for on the page following, in his edition of the poems, the remark that "each describes an ideal day—a day of twelve hours," he summarizes part of the action of *Il Penneroso* in these words: "And *always*, ere he rejoins the mixed society of men, let him pay his due visit of worship to the Gothic cathedral near. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

If, then, Milton was not depicting any single day, he was depicting the typical occupations, the habits, of a carefree man and of a pensive man; and the interpretation of the poems as autobiographically significant is consistent with the sense and structure of the lines. Furthermore, the two lives pictured are to some extent inconsistent with each other, contradictory and mutually exclusive. The man who is admitted to the "crew" of Mirth, to live with her, to enjoy the company of the rustics in their simple delights, to be pleased with "pomp, and feast, and revelry," seems not to be the same man who asks Melancholy to grant him long hours of night study in solitude, to hide him "from Day's garish eye," and to lead him finally to "the peaceful hermitage." The degrees of happiness and of pensiveness represented seem too extreme to be reconciled in one individual, at least at any one period of his life; and the "contrasting moods" depicted seem to be habitual moods. Nevertheless, as Professor Hanford remarks,

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 86 f.

<sup>14</sup> *The Poetical Works of John Milton* ("Globe Edition" [London, 1907]), p. 410; the italics are mine.

"*L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are equally Milton."<sup>15</sup> To explain this apparent contradiction, it is only necessary to point out that *L'Allegro* is a self-portrait of a Milton who *might have been*; *Il Penseroso*, of essentially the Milton who *was to be*. In depicting himself as either, Milton carefully carried the characteristics of two different aspects of his nature to extremes they had not yet reached, since the model was not himself as he was, but himself as he would be after eliminating either his solemnity or his light-heartedness for the fuller development of the other. It seems to me one of the most perfect artistic accomplishments in these two poems that he could project himself so completely into the mood depicted in each that he revealed only his potential gaiety or pensiveness, and excluded conflicting elements in his personality. He was not *creating* dramatic characters; he was reproducing, in clear and perfect focus, selected characteristics of his own.

By this time in his life Milton had sufficiently revealed the existence, in his personal and poetic nature, of two such contrasting and, to some extent, conflicting aspects: one light, happy, sometimes playful, and occasionally, or at least potentially, gay; the other profoundly serious—characteristic of the grave, purposeful poet he later became. Possibly both could be developed simultaneously without any suppression of either; more probably one would have to be at least partly sacrificed for the fullest development of the other. Every young man not fully matured has in his personality more than one aspect or element capable of development to a dominance over every other one; and every young man who is deliberately or self-consciously forming his mature character tries to decide which aspect or element to emphasize, especially if one conflicts with another. We cannot suppose such a decision to have been a very difficult one for Milton; he cannot have thought for long of suppressing entirely the more sober side of his nature. Yet the decision, predetermined though it was by his early training and development, could furnish clear motivation for the writing of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*; it would be thoroughly characteristic of Milton to weigh carefully the present and future consequences of any such choice, and equally characteristic to do so in poetry. And that the two poems do contrast two kinds of life or atti-

<sup>15</sup> Hanford, *Studies*, p. 132. Cf., however, F. M. Darnall, "Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*," *Modern Language Notes*, XXXI (1916), 56.

tudes toward life, and are to some extent autobiographical or subjective, has been suggested by at least four critics: Verity,<sup>16</sup> Trent,<sup>17</sup> Moody,<sup>18</sup> and R. C. Browne.<sup>19</sup>

This possible connection of the poems with Milton's recognition of a conflict between two sides of his nature is strengthened by their chronological position among his early works. The untroubled cheerfulness, sometimes approaching merriment, that is the distinctive quality of *L'Allegro* had appeared several times before in his writing, but never appeared again. This lighter side of the poet was first revealed during his rustication from Cambridge, in the "Elegia Prima"; next it appeared about 1627 or 1628, in the "Elegia Septima," and, during the Easter term of 1628, in the "Vacation Exercise."<sup>20</sup> In July, 1628, also, he wrote to Alexander Gill<sup>21</sup> that he had furnished for a fellow of his college some "frivolous" verses (apparently the lines "Naturam non pati senium"); less than a year later he wrote the exuberant "Elegia Quinta" ("In adventum veris"), and, about the spring of 1629, the "Song on a May Morning" and the sonnet "To a Nightingale."<sup>22</sup> Between this time and the winter of 1629-30, Hanford suggests, he wrote the Italian poems;<sup>23</sup> and these too belong among his lighter verses. At the Christmas season of 1629, in the "Elegia Sexta," Milton praised the verses sent him by Diodati, and contrasted the life of the poet of light elegy with that of "the poet who will tell of wars, and of Heaven under adult Jove, and of pious heroes, and leaders half-divine. . . ." <sup>24</sup> But he avoided suggesting that either kind of poet was superior to the other—partly, no doubt, from consideration for Diodati. By now he seems to have hoped, indeed, that he might some day become the poet of great themes, and probably already felt, consciously or otherwise, a preference for serious subjects; yet his defense of the poet of light themes seems just as honest and genuine as his interest

<sup>16</sup> P. xlv.

<sup>17</sup> P. 2.

<sup>18</sup> P. 24.

<sup>19</sup> *English Poems by John Milton* (Oxford, 1887), I, xli.

<sup>20</sup> In expressing, in the "Vacation Exercise," his wish that he could use his native language for "some graver subject," Milton revealed that he was already weighing his powers in both light and serious verse, and implied that he preferred Latin for the former and English for the latter. Here is an early hint that he is conscious of the conflict between the two sides of his nature.

<sup>21</sup> J. A. St. John (ed.), *The Prose Works of John Milton* (London, 1848), III, 489 f.

<sup>22</sup> Hanford, *Studies*, p. 119.

<sup>23</sup> Moody, pp. 338 f.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120 f.

in the other.<sup>25</sup> And though he had by this time written his last "amatory lyrics," he had not yet renounced all light verse. For soon afterward he composed the two poems on Hobson, verses obviously written for amusement alone. And then, probably not long before or after the beginning of his residence at Horton,<sup>26</sup> he wrote *L'Allegro*.

Nothing like this light-hearted verse which Milton had been praising and composing reappears in his writing after the Horton period; even the pieces that seem superficially to resemble the lighter early poems show a marked change in spirit. The sonnet "When the Assault Was Intended to the City," if it be humorous in purpose (as some readers have thought), is quietly ironic. The two jesting verses on "Tetrachordon" have in them much more of bitterness and sarcasm than of happy humor. The Greek lines written under the frontispiece of the 1645 edition of his poems are purely satiric. The ode "Ad Joannem Rousium" is serious in spite of its pretense at playfulness. And the sonnet "To Mr. Lawrence," pleasant as it is, closes with a serious reminder of the need of temperance in the enjoyment of sensuous delights.

If *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* do, then, represent Milton's attempt to decide a problem in his development, that problem involved the possible abandonment not only of Ovidian love lyrics, but also of all verse not motivated by a serious purpose—especially verse in a pagan or merely graceful form or style, unless these could be tempered with an underlying moral or religious purpose. Such a decision seems to be hinted by the fact that *Il Penseroso*, unlike *L'Allegro*, looks beyond the pleasures of youth to an old age of mellow wisdom—of "something like prophetic strain." And such a decision seems to be reflected in both *Comus* and *Lycidas*. The former is, of course, superficially gay, in the proper style of a masque; but all the real gaiety, all the abandon, is assigned to *Comus* and his rout, whereas the nobler characters of the Brothers and the Lady partake of the quiet solemnity of *Il Penseroso*.<sup>27</sup> The most striking echo, however, is in the passage (ll. 375–92) in which the two brothers unite to praise Contemplation or Medi-

<sup>25</sup> E. K. Rand ("Milton in Rustication," *Studies in Philology*, XIX, 110) speaks in this connection of "high poetry, as distinguished from the sort he was writing then."

<sup>26</sup> See Hanford, *Studies*, p. 131.

<sup>27</sup> See Browne, pp. 1–11, for a further exposition of the manner in which the two groups of characters recall the earlier poems.

tation, introducing many of the very details to be found in *Il Penseroso*, again in contrast with the "cheerful haunt of men and herds." The only passage that may be said similarly to echo the attitude of *L'Allegro* comes from the mouth of Comus (ll. 668-671), in the midst of his temptation of the Lady. Furthermore, minor details in *Comus*, such as the treatment of Bacchus,<sup>28</sup> and the accusation of "melancholy blood" (l. 810) with which Comus answers the Lady's contempt for his "gay Rhetoric," make it still less likely that these reflections are accidental, and more likely that they are a partial recapitulation of Milton's reasons for preferring the life of *Il Penseroso* to that of *L'Allegro*.

And his decision seems to receive its last consideration and endorsement in lines 64-86 of *Lycidas*, where he discusses "the homely, slighted, Shepherd's trade." Since Amaryllis and Neaera are names associated with pastoral life and poetry, presumably the contrast intended in this passage is between those shepherds (that is, poets) who follow their trade "with uncessant care" and "strictly," and those other shepherds, less conscientious about the true duties of their vocation, who "sport with Amaryllis in the shade." In other words, Milton is apparently contrasting serious, purposeful poets with the singers of light love and gaiety; and his own preference for serious poetry is this time confirmed by the authority of Phoebus himself.

Professor Hanford, however, considers *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* compositions uninfluenced by personal considerations. He writes:

The two pieces taken together are, indeed, the evidence of a carefully disciplined and completely self-possessed maturity of aesthetic cultivation and of a mind free for the moment from temperamental bias of any sort. The poems are studiously objective, even the effects of his reading being represented as elements in an impersonal experience.<sup>29</sup>

Is it not possible, though, that the "studiously objective" quality deliberately veils a real subjectivity? Earlier in the same essay Hanford remarks:

The aesthetic objectivity of the Horton poems was in considerable degree an artificial thing. Beneath it, and in the entire body of Milton's youthful writing, we may read the evidence of disturbing experiences and intimate reactions which belong characteristically to the period of adolescence.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Comus*, ll. 46-77, with *L'Allegro*, ll. 11-16, and with "Elegia Sexta," ll. 13-14.

<sup>29</sup> Hanford, *Studies*, pp. 132 f.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

And of the Horton period he writes also:

Though the foundations of his culture were firmly established and the controlling ideas and motives of his life already operative, his transition to full intellectual maturity had not yet taken place; and the divergent or contradictory elements in his consciousness remained to be fused by the tremendous energy of Milton's mind into philosophic and aesthetic wholeness.

Then, describing "the manuscript letter to an unknown friend, written apparently near the beginning of the Horton period," as "an elaborate piece of self-analysis," he continues:

It was his habit, as we have observed, to call upon his powers of expression as a means of confirming himself in a course of action to which his nature and his reason counselled him. The tone of confident assurance which this letter shares with other similar pronouncements is, I am inclined to believe, primarily a form of utterance and may cover real uncertainty and debate.<sup>31</sup>

Now for the writing at this same period of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* there seem to be only two possible motives: either Milton merely "amuses himself by analyzing his aesthetic reactions and classifying them in two contrasting modes";<sup>32</sup> or, under the veil of an artistic or artificial objectivity, these poems also "cover real uncertainty and debate" as to a genuine personal problem. Of the two, surely the latter motivation seems more characteristic of Milton at any period of his life—especially at the time of such "disturbing experiences and intimate reactions" as Professor Hanford describes.

I would suggest, then, that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* have, in addition to their artistic excellence and descriptive charm, this significance: they may be regarded as a valuable autobiographical record of an important step in Milton's development—his consideration of the question whether he should suppress either the lighter or the more serious side of his nature, as man and as poet, for the fuller development of the other.

DONALD C. DORIAN

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 128 f.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

## GOLDSMITH AND THE ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR the contemporary part of his *An History of England*, in a *Series of Letters from a Nobleman to His Son* (published anonymously in 1764)—for the part, that is, which is concerned with the period of the Seven Years' War—Goldsmith seems to have relied principally upon two sources,<sup>1</sup> one of which has not been mentioned hitherto in connection with his name. His biographer and editor, Prior, refers with irritating vagueness in *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, M.B.<sup>2</sup> to a "rough copy" of a Newbery memorandum of 1763—about the time when Goldsmith was finishing his history—upon which "Several books supplied to him [i.e., supplied to Goldsmith by Newbery at Canonbury House, Islington] are likewise set down; as . . . 'Annual Register,' 4 vols., 'the same half bound,' 'Smollett's Continuation,' &c. . . ." The first four volumes of the *Annual Register*, those for 1758, 1759, 1760, and 1761, contained the first four instalments of Burke's "The History of the Present War"; Smollett's "Continuation" was, of course, the continuation of his *Complete History of England*.<sup>3</sup> I shall be concerned largely with the first of these sources. It is my purpose, however, to consider not only what Goldsmith borrowed from Burke, but also how he borrowed it; for his procedure in this instance will afford us, within a manageable compass, an example of his methods of borrowing both in this work and elsewhere in his writings.

As Goldsmith had often to condense his source material drastically, it is sometimes hard to tell at a given point just whom he is following.

<sup>1</sup> Earlier he had followed principally Rapin-Thoyras for the facts and Voltaire for his interpretation of the facts of history. See R. S. Crane and J. H. Warner, "Goldsmith and Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs*," MLN, XXXVIII (February, 1923), 65-76. A set of Tindal's translation and continuation of Rapin's history of England was in Goldsmith's library at the time of his death (21 vols.; London, 1761). He admitted using Hume, Rapin, and occasionally Bishop White Kennet (see *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs [London, 1884-86], V, 168 n.). He also referred to Smollett's *Complete History of England*, both in this work and in his later four-volume history of England (1771). I shall refer to the history of 1764 as *Letters*.

<sup>2</sup> (London, 1837), I, 459. The "rough copy" which Prior saw differs from the copy of the memorandum now in the possession of Mr. William M. Elkins, of Philadelphia. No such items appear there. I know nothing of the present location of the "rough copy."

<sup>3</sup> References in this paper will be to the London edition of 1759-60 in eleven volumes, and to the continuation published (1760-65) as Vols. XII-XVI of this set.



The accompanying tabulation, however, will indicate his principal borrowings from the *Annual Register*.

<i>Letters</i> (1st ed., 1764)	<i>Annual Register for 1758</i> (1st ed., 1759)
II, 199-201: Of the French and English rival claims in America.	Pp. 2-3
II, 216-21: Of certain events at the outbreak of the war	Pp. 6-20
	<i>Annual Register for 1761</i> (1st ed., 1762)
II, 232-34: Of the conquest of India	Pp. 54-57
	<i>Annual Register for 1760</i> (2d ed., 1762)
II, 248: The laudatory character of George II	Pp. 39-41 <sup>4</sup>

Of these the last alone merits quotation in full by the side of the original. Goldsmith had written of George II: ". . . as we stand too near this Monarch to view his real character without partiality, take the following characters of him, by two writers of opposite sentiments."<sup>5</sup> After "quoting" the adverse critic, who turns out to have been Smollett,<sup>6</sup> he continued "quoting" in this fashion from Burke:

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *Letters*, II, 205-7 (of various events at the beginning of the war) with the *Annual Register for 1758*, pp. 33-35; *Letters*, II, 222 (a sentence), with the *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 30; *Letters*, II, 235-41 (of various operations in America), with the *Annual Register for 1758*, pp. 70-75, and the *Annual Register for 1759* (1st ed., 1760), pp. 29-45; *Letters*, II, 247 (of the futility of the war), with the *Annual Register for 1760*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters*, II, 247-48.

<sup>6</sup> Smollett had written (XV, 112-13): "The extent of his understanding, and the splendour of his virtue, we shall not presume to ascertain, nor attempt to display;—we rather wish for opportunities to expatiate on his munificence and liberality; his generous regard to genius and learning; his royal encouragement and protection of those arts by which a nation is at once benefited and adorned. . . . The circumstances that chiefly marked his public character, were a predilection for his native country, and a close attention to the political interests of the Germanic body: points and principles to which he adhered with the most invincible fortitude; . . ."

Goldsmith wrote, within quotation marks (II, 248): "'As to the extent of his understanding (says one) or the splendour of his virtue, we rather wish for opportunities of praising, than undertake the task ourselves. His public character was marked with a predilection for his native country, to which he sacrificed all other motives.'"

It may be added that Goldsmith had previously, and on his own responsibility, written (II, 247): "He was himself of no shining abilities; and, consequently, while he was suffered to guide his German dominions, he entrusted the care of Britain to his ministers at home."



## GOLDSMITH

On the other hand, says his panegyrist, "On whatever side we look upon his character, we shall find ample matter for just and unsuspected praise. None of his predecessors in the throne of England lived to so great an age, or enjoyed longer felicity.

His subjects

were still improving under him in commerce and arts;

and his own oeconomy set a prudent example to the nation, which, however, they did not follow.

He was, in his temper, sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his behaviour, made no change in his conduct, which was generally guided by reason.

He was plain and direct in his inten-

## BURKE

When future historians come to speak of his late majesty, they will find both in his fortune and his virtue, abundant matter for just and unsuspected panegyric. None of his predecessors in the throne of England lived to so great an age; few of them enjoyed so long a reign. And this long course was distinguished by circumstances of peculiar felicity, whether we consider him in the public or the private character. His subjects, allowing for one short and as it were momentary cloud, enjoyed perpetual peace at home, and abroad on many occasions acquired great glory. There was to the last a considerable increase in their agriculture, their commerce, and their manufactures, which were daily improving under the internal tranquility they enjoyed, . . .<sup>7</sup>

He has been censured as a little too attentive to money; and perhaps in some minute things this censure was not wholly without foundation. But there are two considerations which greatly enervate this objection to his character. First, that this disposition never shewed itself in one rapacious act; and 2dly, that it never influenced his conduct on any important occasion. . . .

He was in his temper sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his behaviour, made no impression on his conduct, which was always sufficiently deliberate and attentive to his own interests and those of his subjects.

He was plain and direct in his inten-

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting, in view of his later stand, to find Burke at this time adding: "He lived entirely to extinguish party, and the spirit of party, in his kingdoms; . . ."

tions, true to his word, steady in his favour and protection to his servants; nor parting even with his ministers till compelled to it by the violence of faction.

In short, through the whole of life he appeared rather to live for the cultivation of useful virtues than splendid ones; and, satisfied with being good, left others their unenvied greatness."

tions; true to his word; steady in his favour and protection to his servants, and never changed them willingly; . . . But having been in a sort compelled by a violent faction, to relinquish a minister for whom he had great affection, and in whom he reposed an unlimited confidence, it afterwards became a matter of mere indifference to him by whom he was served in the affairs of his government. . . .

His parts were not lively or brilliant; but the whole of his conduct demonstrates that he had a judgment both solid and comprehensive. He understood the interests of the other sovereigns of Europe; and was particularly skilled in all the recesses of that political labyrinth, the system of Germany; . . . So that if we only examine what he has done in Germany, when we reflect what enemies secret and declared he had at different times to manage and to fight in that country, he must in every fair judgment be allowed the greatest prince of his family.<sup>8</sup>

These passages reveal in Goldsmith not only a latitudinarian conception of quotation, which was not uncommon in the eighteenth century, but also a special peculiarity of his mind. He had long admired the to him inaccessible middle-class virtue of frugality.<sup>9</sup> Now it is clear from the conclusion of the foregoing character that he is not very favorably disposed toward George II. Yet where Burke, the

<sup>8</sup> The passages have been rearranged to fit Goldsmith's text. As his bias against George II is obvious, his omission of the following charge in Burke's text is worth noting: "As he came to England in a riper age, and of consequence never had been able to attain a perfect knowledge of the force and beauties of our language, he never shewed a sufficient regard to the English literature, which in his reign did not flourish: and this must be considered as the greatest, or rather the only blemish that lay upon his government." This charge he seems to have reserved for his four-volume history (see ed. 1771, IV, 412).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *The Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Balderston (Cambridge [England], 1928), pp. 44-45, 61, and notes, for Goldsmith's attitude toward frugality. Cf., also, in the history, his appreciation of this quality in William the Conqueror and Henry VII (I, 67, 209-10, 225).

panegyrist, actually saw a fault that called for apology—the fault of avarice—Goldsmith saw a virtue that deserved imitation. George II's "œconomy set a prudent example to the nation," he wrote, "which, however, they [and among the "they" he doubtless included himself] did not follow." Now though this may be an extreme case, such an interpolation is rather the rule than the exception with Goldsmith. And the habit suggests a quality of mind which we today are in a better position to appreciate than were his contemporaries. Johnson, indeed, hardly bothered to understand his friend's mind. Over and over again he said, in various ways, "Sir, he knows nothing; he has made up his mind about nothing."<sup>10</sup> Such a statement, from so shrewd an observer of mankind as Johnson, is, of course, not to be lightly disregarded. Goldsmith certainly had not at his command a large sedimentary mass of information which could be brought to bear empirically at a moment's notice upon the point at issue. But then Goldsmith was not interested in information. He was a "Citizen of the World"—in the history he was an artistocratic English cosmopolite; he was a *philosophe*, who felt that those who dealt primarily in information, "abridgers, compilers, commentators, and critics, are in general only fit to fill the mind with unnecessary anecdotes, or lead its researches astray."<sup>11</sup> The second part of Johnson's statement is both unfair and misleading; for there is a sense in which Goldsmith had made up his mind almost too well. Scholarship has revealed that throughout his career he held to a limited number of ideas, and even of phrases, with the tenacity, if not with the enthusiasm, of a religious zealot. It is apparent that with him more than with most men thinking was an emotional rather than an intellectual matter. From his first appearance as a writer he approached whatever subject he had in hand with a kind of fixed emotional attitude—a pattern of prejudice, it might be called—which made him sensitive to certain facts, phrases, and ideas with which he came in contact, very often in his reading, and which he stored away in his mind for future use.<sup>12</sup> And however much we may deplore the poverty of invention or the intellectual limitations which this fact implies, it does help to explain why he was able to

<sup>10</sup> *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill (New York, 1891), II, 246; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 225, 270; III, 286-87.

<sup>11</sup> *Letters*, I, 4.

<sup>12</sup> See R. S. Crane, *New Essays by Oliver Goldsmith* (Chicago, 1927), pp. xxi-xxx.

make such diverse subjects as the history of England and the history of animated nature "as interesting as a Persian tale." Johnson's condemnation of his friend's English histories, then, even if his criticism were just, cannot destroy their interest for us. "Though he wrote ye hist<sup>y</sup> of England," said Johnson, who probably had read none of Goldsmith's histories of England, "he knew nothing more of it than turning over two or three English Historians & abridging them."<sup>13</sup> We may reply that he could not write even a book on physics without introducing into it ideas—however remote from the immediate subject they might be—upon which he had made up his mind.

The few pages in Goldsmith's *Letters* covering the period of the Seven Years' War provide, as we might expect, several other examples of the reaction of the Goldsmithian mind to source material. His indifference to mere facts as such is illustrated in the following quotations, where Goldsmith may be seen undisturbedly transferring to his own pages a geographical blunder. Burke had written:

Now began to shoot forth the seeds of another dispute, which had long lain unobserved, but which proved altogether as thorny [*sic*] and intricate as that concerning the limits of Acadia. The French pretending to have first discovered the mouths of the Misisippi [*sic*], claimed the whole adjacent country, towards New Mexico on the East, quite to the Apalachian or Allegeny [*sic*] mountains on the West.

With only a little improvement in spelling, for which he may not have been responsible, Goldsmith wrote:

Now also began to be observed another source of dispute, which promised as much uneasiness as the former. The French, pretending first to have discovered the mouth of the river Mississipp, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the east, quite to the Apalachian Mountains on the west.<sup>14</sup>

He was likewise naturally immune from ideas against which his mind had previously been inoculated. Thus, as he seems to have been from the start a convinced Tory, he is on his guard against Burke's manifest Whiggism. Burke remarks, for example, in a passage which Goldsmith must have read, that the French policy of attacking Hanover in order to force England to relax her claims in America was unsuccessful.

<sup>13</sup> *Mary Hamilton . . . at Court and at Home*, ed. Anson (London, 1925), p. 183.

<sup>14</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 2; *Letters*, II, 200. The same blunder, probably derived from the same source, appears in the *Martial Review* (1763), p. 3), in connection with which Goldsmith's name has been mentioned, but in which I can find no trace of his hand.

ful because His Majesty's "British subjects by their representatives, not more generously than reasonably, resolved to defend the Hanoverians if attacked in their quarrel." According to Goldsmith, the French "were not much disappointed" at least in their hopes of "dividing the English forces, or draining their finances with heavy subsidies, . . ." as they knew George II's "affection for his native country."<sup>15</sup> And again Goldsmith can assert his independence of Burke on more general and cosmopolitan grounds. Of the French attitude toward the English activities before the actual declaration of war, Burke had written:

But whether it was that they were really in no condition to act, or that they intended to influence the other courts in their favour, by a shew of extraordinary moderation, they contented themselves with this, and neither declared war nor made any sort of reprisal for several months after.

Goldsmith added to his account of the facts the following reflection:

However, it must be owned, that as a declaration of war was a ceremony easily performed, it would have been more consistent with the honour of the ministry, to have pursued the usual methods of contest which had been long established in Europe.<sup>16</sup>

Not infrequently, however—as we might expect in so able a writer as Burke—Goldsmith came upon a phrase or an idea to which his mind was, as it were, emotionally sensitized. A phrase like the following, for example, could not fail to catch his eye. Of the new alliance between France and Austria Burke had written: "By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political system of Europe assumed a new face; . . ." Goldsmith copied this sentence, and then, as if to declare his own independence, added the comment: "and it pretty clearly shews that events guide the politician, while the politician seldom guides events; or, to use the words of Tacitus, there is but very little difference between the art and its futility [in later editions "fatality"]."<sup>17</sup> Again, he was attracted by one of Burke's figures of speech, though in this case he improved upon his source. France and England, Burke had written, "prepared to cut the gordian knot of the long and intricate negotiation by the sword." Goldsmith rendered this: "The government of England having long complained of these

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 5, and *Letters*, II, 214. For the same charge elsewhere in the history see *Letters*, II, 142-43, 166, 168-69, 235-36, 245, 247.

<sup>16</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 14; *Letters*, II, 205.

<sup>17</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 6; *Letters*, II, 216.

incroachments [in America], determined, at length, to repel force by force, and to cut the knot of negotiation, which they could not untie."<sup>18</sup>

At least once a passage in "The History of the Present War" seems to have caught Goldsmith's eye without conveying to him its full import. Burke had written: "A war between the maritime powers is felt in all parts of the world. Not content with inflaming Europe and America, the dissensions of the French and English pursued the tracks of their commerce, and the Ganges felt the fatal effects of a quarrel on the Ohio." Goldsmith betrayed his lack of interest in, if not his ignorance of, commerce by writing: "A war in Europe could not be proclaimed between the two great powers, without being felt in the remotest parts of the globe."<sup>19</sup>

But in a number of instances passages in Burke must instantly have struck a responsive chord in his mind. In the next two passages Goldsmith will be seen agreeing with rather than copying his source. Apropos of the French attack on Minorca, Burke had written:

This was done whilst the nation trembled under a shameful panic [*sic*], too public to be concealed, too fatal in its consequences to be ever forgotten. . . . We did not look upon ourselves [as] sufficiently secured by the arrival of the Hanoverian and Hessian troops, which the same weakness had induced us to call to our assistance.

Goldsmith, in one of his few outbursts of real British patriotism, wrote:

. . . a body therefore of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand, were brought over to protect about as many millions of Englishmen, who, with swords in their hands, were able to defend themselves; . . .<sup>20</sup>

Again, he could heartily agree when Burke wrote of the attack on Louisburg: "The operations of a siege are too minute and uninteresting to make a detail of them agreeable to readers, who are not conversant with the art military." Goldsmith's attitude toward military matters had all along been similar;<sup>21</sup> he therefore began his account of the same event with: "An account of the operations of a siege is tedious; . . ."<sup>22</sup>

But there were in Burke reflections of a profounder order which

<sup>18</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 3; *Letters*, II, 201.

<sup>19</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 30; *Letters*, II, 222.

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 5; *Letters*, II, 206.

<sup>21</sup> See Crane and Warner, *MLN*, XXXVIII (February, 1923), 72-73.

<sup>22</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 71; *Letters*, II, 237.

could touch off Goldsmith's mind. Of the fighting in Germany Burke had written: "We have seen armies, after complete victory, obliged to act as if they had been defeated; and after a defeat, taking an offensive part with success, and reaping all the fruits of victory."<sup>23</sup> Goldsmith, who had favored peace since 1759,<sup>24</sup> skilfully turned this observation, made by one who on the whole approved the policy of George II's government, into a serious indictment of the war itself. He wrote: "The victories of either side might, in fact, be considered as a compact by which something was to be lost on either side, and no advantage to be acquired."<sup>25</sup>

Still another of Burke's reflections Goldsmith must have welcomed as an old friend. Of the activities of France and England in America Burke had written: "It is no wonder that the two former powers seizing on a country in which they considered the right of the natural inhabitants as nothing, should find it a very difficult matter to settle their own."<sup>26</sup> This sentiment Goldsmith had met with and had noted in his reading at least twice before. In his review of Voltaire's *Universal History*, which he wrote for the *Monthly Review* in 1757,<sup>27</sup> Goldsmith had quoted the following passage from Voltaire concerning the Treaty of Utrecht:

Confusion was the necessary result of this omission [to specify the limits of Acadia]. Did Justice and Philosophy enter into the disputes of mankind, they would shew that both sides disputed concerning a country to which neither had the least right; but principles like these seldom influence the affairs of the world.

Again, some time in 1759 or 1760 Goldsmith had come upon the same idea in an article entitled "Observations on the Present State of Affairs," written by Johnson and published in the *Literary Magazine* for July-August, 1756:<sup>28</sup>

The general subject of the present war is sufficiently known. It is allowed on both sides, that hostilities began in *America*, and that the *French* and *English*

<sup>23</sup> *Annual Register for 1760*, p. 2. Cf. Burke's further reflection: "The ballance of power, the pride of modern policy, and originally invented to preserve the general peace as well as freedom of Europe, has only preserved its liberty. It has been the original of innumerable and fruitless wars . . . the most fortunate acquire little; and what they acquire is never in any reasonable proportion to charge and loss."

<sup>24</sup> Cf. "On Public Rejoicings for Victory," first published in the *Busy Body* for October 20, 1759 (*Works*, IV, 462-68).

<sup>25</sup> *Letters*, II, 247.

<sup>26</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> XVII, 159.

<sup>28</sup> I, 161; cf. J. W. Oliver, the *Times Literary Supplement*, May 18, 1922, p. 324.



quarrelled about the boundaries of their settlements, about grounds and rivers to which, I am afraid, neither can shew any other right than that of power, and which neither can occupy but by usurpation, and the dispossession of the natural lords and original inhabitants. Such is the contest that no honest man can heartily wish success to either party.

Coming upon the passage in Burke, therefore, Goldsmith not only took it over, but also gave his loving attention to making it more pointed. "And it was not probable," he wrote, "that powers who had no right to the countries in dispute, but that of invasion, would have equity enough to agree upon sharing the spoil."<sup>29</sup>

By 1764, however, Goldsmith had in his mind a storehouse full of more or less formulated ideas which needed the stimulus of only the most faintly relevant fact or reflection to bring them forth. Thus we are not surprised to find him adding to a passage derived from Burke about the conquest of India an "original" reflection on the dangers of overextended empire;<sup>30</sup> nor to see interpolated into his account of Clive's successes—at a point where he seems to be following Smollett<sup>31</sup>—a dissertation on the proposition that "all the customs, habits, opinions, of the Asiatics tend to enfeeble the body, and effeminate the mind."<sup>32</sup> More interesting, perhaps, is the occasion which Goldsmith found to air his particular brand of Russophobia. Discussing Russia's position in the European negotiations before the war, Burke had ventured to hope that the reasons for an alliance between Russia and England "can never subsist again."<sup>33</sup> Goldsmith—having at an earlier period expressed his admiration for "this simple happy people," who had attained perhaps "the true point of happiness, on one side of which lies savage wretchedness, and on the other excruciating refine-

<sup>29</sup> *Letters*, II, 199. Goldsmith proceeds: "The right which any of the contending powers pretended to, might, in the eye of reason, be thought very controvertible; but the convenience which either party was to derive from the enjoyment of their peculiar claims was not so uncertain."

<sup>30</sup> *Letters*, II, 234. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 241-42, 254; *The Citizen of the World*, *Letters XVII and XXV* (*Works*, III, 62-65, 90-94); *New Essays by Oliver Goldsmith*, pp. 92-94. Burke held very different views on this subject. He wrote (*Annual Register for 1761*, p. 56): "... the princes of the country considered us with an awful regard, and nothing but a little French settlement on the coast of Malabar, . . . opposed our commanding the whole trade of India, from the Ganges to the Indies, the most extensive and profitable sphere of commerce in the world."

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Smollett, XVIII, 46-48.

<sup>32</sup> *Letters*, II, 226-27; cf. *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature* (Dublin, 1776), II, 225.

<sup>33</sup> *Annual Register for 1758*, p. 6.



ment," and having already voiced his fear that Europe would one day "behold new myriads of combatants pouring down from the North"<sup>34</sup>—reacted promptly to the stimulus with which Burke supplied him. By concurring in the proposals of France and Austria, he asserted,

Russia had another opportunity of sending her forces into the western parts of Europe, which was all she had hoped by the subsidiary treaty with England. A settlement in the western parts of Europe was what this fierce northern power long wanted an opportunity of obtaining; for, possessed of that, she could then pour in fresh forces at any time upon the more effeminate and contending states; and perhaps, at length, obtain universal Empire.<sup>35</sup>

But something yet more deeply seated in Goldsmith's mind cried for and found expression in this history. Goldsmith was an Irishman; and though he may have clung to his brogue,<sup>36</sup> he never seems to have dwelt very explicitly on his feeling for the land of his birth. Apparently his conscience troubled him; for in the midst of a passage derived from Smollett,<sup>37</sup> we suddenly come upon the statement, unauthorized in the source, that Colonel Coote, the leader of a British force in India, was "a native of Ireland, a man of prudence and bravery; . . ." And a moment later, again without reference to his authority, he wrote of the opposing commanders Coote and Lally: "It is remarkable enough, that the commanders, on either side, were countrymen; but this did not, in the least, abate their attachment to the different crowns they served." But perhaps the most notable of these small pieces of conscience money appears in his four-volume *History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II.* Introducing his account of the conquest of Ireland by Henry II, Hume—Goldsmith's source at that point in his later history—had written:

The Irish, from the beginning of time, had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance: and, as they were never conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the western world derived its civility, they continued still in the most rude state of society, and were distinguished by those vices alone, to which human nature, not tamed by education, or restrained by laws, is for ever subject.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *New Essays*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>35</sup> *Letters*, II, 216; cf. *The Citizen of the World*, Letter LXXXVII (*Works*, III, 325–27).

<sup>36</sup> See Forster, *Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith* (London, 1877), II, 320 and note.

<sup>37</sup> *Letters*, II, 231; cf. Smollett, XIV, 217–20.

<sup>38</sup> *The History of England* (Philadelphia, 1821), I, 269.

How was an Irish citizen of the world to deal with such downright Scottish truculence? If not *fortiter in re*, Goldsmith was certainly *suaviter in modo*. Ignoring the comment, he took his facts from Hume, and then added by way of conclusion:

Thus, after a trifling effort, in which very little money was expended, and little blood shed, that beautiful island became an appendage to the English crown, and as such it has ever since continued, with unshaken fidelity.<sup>39</sup>

To say with Johnson, therefore, that Goldsmith knew nothing more of English history "than turning over two or three English Historians & abridging them" is to treat one of the most popular "abridgers" of English history far too summarily. It is true, doubtless, that his lack of interest in mere facts made him rely uncritically on his sources for his historical data. Of the ideas with which he met there, however, he was the reverse of uncritical. He had not, during his early career, built up "A Comparative View of Races and Nations"<sup>40</sup> for nothing. How far his political philosophy derived from books, it is not my purpose here to inquire. Certainly some authors—notably Voltaire<sup>41</sup>—influenced him much more than Burke did. But his treatment of Burke's text is no unreliable index of his approach to all of his historical sources. A reflection that fitted into his pattern of prejudice—especially if it were happily phrased—he did not scruple to make his own. The rest he either modified to conform with his own preconceptions or else ignored entirely. And the result of this process, if not a profound philosophy of history, is sometimes surprisingly penetrating, and almost always engagingly personal.

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<sup>39</sup> *The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II* (1771), I, 254.

<sup>40</sup> The title of a series of essays in the *Royal Magazine* (II [June, 1760], 285). See *New Essays*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Even with Voltaire Goldsmith could show at least an independent power of assimilation. Thus he seems to have taken his conception of the importance to English liberty of the incorporated towns from Voltaire (cf. *Letters*, I, 79-80, and Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes* [Paris, 1877-85], XI, 443; see also *ibid.*, p. 414, and XII, 22). But in the application of this idea in his account of the reign of Henry III, Goldsmith seems, so far as immediate sources go, to be original (*Letters*, I, 108; cf. *History of England, from the Earliest Times*, I, 384): "A spirit of liberty had now diffused itself from the incorporated towns thro' the whole mass of people, and ever after blazed forth at convenient seasons; afterwards whoever lost they were sure to be gainers; and, if in the contest they laid down their lives, and suffered all the hardships of war, yet they considered those calamities as trivial, if liberty were left improved and better secured to their posterity."

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### A NOTE ON THE HISTORICAL PROTOTYPE OF SIGFRIED

That the legend of the fall of the Burgundians, as preserved in the *Nibelungenlied* and its Norse analogues, rests upon traditional recollection of historic facts is now well established. The case is quite different, however, with Sigfried and Brunhild. The majority of scholars regard these figures as purely mythical. Andreas Heusler has emphatically upheld this view;<sup>1</sup> indeed, his contention that the historical element in Germanic heroic poetry is relatively slight<sup>2</sup> has tended to discourage any attempt to identify with specific historical figures those legendary heroes in whose careers supernatural elements play any considerable part.

One such identification, however, is decidedly plausible: Holz's suggestion that Sigfried and Brunhild are, respectively, Sigebert, king of the Austrasian Franks, and the West Gothic princess Brunichild, whom he married in 567. Holz points to a number of striking resemblances between the careers of these historical figures and those of Sigfried and Brunhild: the similarities in name, the possession by the hero of a remarkable treasure coveted by his kindred, the murder of the hero.<sup>3</sup>

It can hardly be denied that the legend of Sigfried and Brunhild bears a resemblance to the fates of the Frankish king and his wife sufficiently close if we take into consideration the changes and embellishments made by the poets who handed down the tale from generation to generation. No more close is the resemblance between the legend of Ermanaric, as preserved in the Elder Edda and in Snorri, and the account, in Ammianus Marcellinus, of the death of the historical Ermanaric. On the other hand, in the Ermanaric legend the hero's name remains unchanged. The name *Sigfried* is by no means identical with *Sigebert*. Herein lies the weakness of Holz's theory.

Holz himself was aware of that weakness, but saw the justification of his view in the fact that there is a similar variation in the hero's name in the Middle High German and Norse versions (Sigfried-Sigurðr): "... Wir finden also drei Formen nebeneinander, die althochdeutsch *Sigiberht*, *Sigifried*, *Sigiwart* heissen würden; der zweite Teil ist verschieden, überall aber beginnt

<sup>1</sup> *Nibelungensage und Nibelungenlied* (2d ed.; Dortmund, 1922), pp. 7, 14; *Die altgermanische Dichtung* (Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1923), p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichtliches und Mythisches in der germanischen Heldensage* ("Sitzungsberichte der Kön.-preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften" [1909], pp. 920 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *Der Sagenkreis der Nibelungen* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 70 ff. Theodor Abeling (*Das Nibelungenlied* [1907]) also identified Brunhild with the historical Brunichild; but the identification Sigfried-Sigebert was first proposed by Holz. Abeling contended that the hero's historical prototype was Segeric, son of the Burgundian prince Sigimund.

et mit Labial, schliesst mit Dental und erhält r; die Vertauschung der Formen ist also leicht begreiflich."<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, Holz's case would be strengthened if it could be proved that the names *Sigebert* and *Sigfried* actually were confused at a time anterior to the composition of the *Nibelungenlied* and the final development of the legend. If the confusion had occurred once, it could occur again, and could give rise to a fixation of the name.

That this confusion actually did take place is proved by a passage in a Norman chronicle of the ninth or tenth century. Under the year 883, in the account of the siege of Paris by *Sigefridus*, leader of the Northmen, we find the following: "*Gauzlinus vero Episcopus dum populum sibi commissum iuuare vellet, cum Sigeberto Rege Northmannorum amicitiam firmavit, vt per hoc civitas ab obsidione liberaretur.*"<sup>5</sup> Langebek notes the scribal error in his edition of the chronicle,<sup>6</sup> but does not mention its implications.

It is clear, then, that the names *Sigebert* and *Sigfried* were not so dissimilar that they could not be confused; nor can their dissimilarity be regarded longer as a bar to the acceptance of Holz's identification.

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#### THE HOUS OF FAME AND RENAUD DE BEAUJEU'S LI BIAUS DESCOUNEÛS

No parallel has, so far as I know, been adduced to the following passage in Chaucer's account of the castle of Fame:

. . . and ful eke of wyndowes,  
As flakes falle in grete snowes.  
And eke in ech of the pynacles  
Weren sondry habitacles;  
In which stoden, al withoute—  
Ful the castel, al aboute—  
Of alle maner of mynstralles,  
And gestiours, that tellen tales  
Both of wepinge and of game.  
Of al that longeth unto Fame.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Sagenkreis*, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesta Normannorum in Francia ante Rollonem ducem, ab anno Christi DCCCXXXVII ad annum DCCCXCVI: Exempla variorum chronicorum de Danis et Normannis*, in *Historiae Normannorum scriptores antiqui*, ed. A. Duchesne (Paris, 1619), I, 5.

*Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi* (Hafniae, 1772), II, 8: "*Script. Norm. Sigeberto, sed paulo infra Sigefridum habent.*"

<sup>1</sup> *Hous of Fame*, ll. 1191-1200. Cf. W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's "Hous of Fame"* ("Chaucer Society," 2d ser., Vol. XXXIX [London, 1907]), pp. 61-63, 104.

A decidedly similar description is given in *Li Biaus Descouneüs* of Renaud de Beaujeu.<sup>2</sup> The hero is told of a palace "molt grant et marbrin"<sup>3</sup> which he must enter:

El front devant a mil fenestres,  
En cascune a un jogleor,  
Et tot sont de molt riche ator;  
Cascuns a divers estrument  
Et devant lui cierge ardent.  
De trestotes les armonies  
La molt doces melaudies.  
Tantost con venir vos verront  
Trestout biel vos salueront.<sup>4</sup>

He comes to the castle, and finds that he has been told the truth:

Il ne se vaut mie arester  
Tant qu'a la sale en est venus,  
U les jogleors a vetis,  
Sor les fenestres tos asis,  
Devant cascun un cierge espris;  
Et son estrument retenoit  
Cascuns itel con il l'avoit.  
L'un voit as fenestres harper,  
L'autre delés celui roter;  
L'uns estive, l'autre viele,  
Li autres gigne et calimele,  
Et cante cler comme serainne;  
Li autres la citole mainne,  
Li uns entendoit au corner  
Et l'autres au bien flahuter;  
Li un notoient lais d'amor;  
Sonnent tinbre, sonnent tabor,  
Muses, salteres et fretel,  
Et buissines et moinel;  
Cascuns ovre de son mestier.<sup>5</sup>

He is afraid of the minstrels and curses them.<sup>6</sup> The fact that we find *fenestres* in Renaud and *habitaes* in the *Hous* is the most striking difference between the two accounts. The list of instruments may be profitably compared with that given a few lines farther on in the *Hous of Fame*.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from these passages, which may be due to some common source or convention, there is little reason to believe that Chaucer was familiar with

<sup>2</sup> Ed. G. Perrie Williams ("Les Classiques français du Moyen Age" [Paris, 1929]).

<sup>3</sup> P. 86, l. 2813.

<sup>4</sup> P. 86, ll. 2818-26.

<sup>5</sup> P. 88, ll. 2880-99. Cf. W. H. Schofield, *Studies on the "Libeaus Desconus"* ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, IV [1895]), 47, 48. The detailed description is not in the English *Libeaus Desconus* (ed. M. Kaluza [Leipzig, 1890]).

<sup>6</sup> P. 89, ll. 2906-09.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 1214 ff.

*Li Biaus Descouneüs* although a connection between the English *Libeaus Desconus* and the *Tale of Thopas* has been suggested.<sup>1</sup>

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#### VERSES FOUND AT COUGHTON COURT

The following verses were found by Miss L. J. Redstone on the membrane of a court roll in the possession of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton Court, Warwickshire, with whose permission they were transcribed and are here printed. The membrane contains a View of Frankpledge for Buckland on Thursday the Eve of St. Mark the Evangelist, 8 Henry V; but the verses are in a hand possibly of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It would be interesting to know whether any other copy of them exists and whether any clue can be found to the writer.

Fare well fare well  
 All frisk all chere  
 fare well my hart solas  
 my deth approachith me nere & nere  
 suche Thomez do me embrace  
 Recure can I none fynd  
 distres so dothe me bynd  
 Alas for pure pite  
 my true hart hath slayne me  
 Alas for pure pite &c'  
 Alas &c'

To Calle vnto remembrance  
 how trustye I was ever  
 To her pastyme and all plesans  
 my selfe I dyd Indeuer  
 And thus to be rewardyd  
 & so to be regardyd  
 Alas for pur pite  
 that my true hart  
 hathe slayne me  
 alas &c'  
 alas &c'

My hart the grownd of heuynes  
 my body bothe pale & wan  
 my Cheste the dole of drerynes  
 so gostly lyke no man  
 thus wofully araid  
 my Wayges she hathe me paid

<sup>1</sup> F. P. Magoun, Jr., "The Source of Chaucer's Rime of Sir Thopas," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 833-44.

alas for pure pite that my &c'  
 alas &c' alas &c'  
 Disdayn my mortall enuye  
 thorow her false surmising  
 the plante of this surquedy  
 to deth me condempnyng  
 thus rufully committe  
 thoroghe danger & dispite  
 Alas for &c' alas &c' alas &c'  
 Well sins that must nedys depart  
 fare well my pleasure all  
 from Cruell dethe I cannot stert  
 my paynes be so mortall  
 lo here a wound In my side  
 wt. thie furious darte Cupide  
 Alas Trise  
 o lady Venus most excelent  
 as thow art my souerayne leche  
 aswage this sent yt  
 ys so feruent  
 Ryghte humblie  
 I the beseche  
 or elles here I make an end  
 to god my solle I commend  
 Alas for pure pite  
 my true harte hathe slayne me  
 Alas &c'  
 Alas &c'

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 KOTZEBUE'S *DIE SCHÖNE UNBEKANNT*E

Rabany, the standard biographer of Kotzebue, placed *Die Schöne Unbekannte* as No. 218 in his list of the dramas of Kotzebue.<sup>1</sup> This would indicate that he considered it the last play. Rabany adds, moreover, the notation *inachevé*. Of these two errors the second grows out of the first. A close examination of *Die schöne Unbekannte* in the standard edition<sup>2</sup> reveals the fact that the play was indeed finished, though Kotzebue, feeling that the solution was self-evident, omitted it purposely.<sup>3</sup> Rabany's inference that the play was the last of Kotzebue's works must have been based on the position of *Die schöne*

<sup>1</sup> Rabany, *Kotzebue, sa vie et son temps* (Paris-Nancy, 1893), p. 503.

<sup>2</sup> Kotzebue, *Theater* (Wien und Leipzig, 1841), XL, 245-72.

<sup>3</sup> The play ends with the words: "Doch, was braucht's da weiter Erzählung, wo sich das Ende von selbst versteht" (*ibid.*, p. 272).

*Unbekannte* at the end of Kotzebue's published works, and on the fact that the solution is left to the imagination of the reader.

While examining Kotzebuana in Tallinn (Reval) in the library of the Estländische Litterärische Gesellschaft, I came across evidence that *Die schöne Unbekannte* was not, and could not possibly have been, the last published play of Kotzebue.

In this library are bound copies of Kotzebue's *Für Geist und Herz*,<sup>4</sup> a journal published in Reval, of which only twelve numbers ever saw the light of day. Beginning on page 9 of the very first number we find a play entitled *Die schöne Unbekannte: Eine dramatische Erzählung*. A close comparison of this drama with the play of the same name in Kotzebue's complete works,<sup>5</sup> the identical one from which Rabany drew his conclusions, reveals the fact that with the exception of a few printer's errors they are one and the same play.

As a consequence, we can now state that *Die schöne Unbekannte* was not the last drama Kotzebue ever wrote, but that it had been written many years before, in 1786 or even before. It belongs, therefore, among the earliest of his plays.

A difficulty of another sort now presents itself. It is possible that Kotzebue did not himself write this play at all, and that here we may be dealing with another of his borrowings. In his introduction to *Für Geist und Herz*, Kotzebue states: "Ich wünsche, dass diejenigen, die dieses Journal mit Beytragen beehren wollen, ihren Aufsätzen jederzeit ihren Namen beyfügen mögten. Zu allen mit einem K. unterzeichneten, bekenne ich mich als Verfasser." Since *Die schöne Unbekannte* is not signed with a "K" in the edition of 1786, the logical conclusion to draw would be that it was written by someone else and submitted to Kotzebue as editor. Perhaps, then, it should never have been included, later on, in the complete works of Kotzebue. At all events we are here faced with a new problem worthy of further investigation.

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#### THE SOURCE OF ARNOLD'S JACOPONE SONNET

The Franciscan poets of the Duecento were introduced to the modern general reader by Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam, in a series of essays first pub-

<sup>4</sup> *Für Geist und Herz: Eine Monatschrift für die nordischen Gegenden*, Band I (Reval: Lindfors, 1786). Band II was published by Glehn of Reval, also in 1786; Band III by Iversen und Fehmer in 1787, also probably in Reval; Band IV was published in Leipzig in 1787. In Band IV (pp. 330-32) Kotzebue bemoans the ill success of the whole venture, which had, he says, only made enemies for him. His profit for the year, amounting to only sixty-one rubles, could have been earned much more easily by selling his own contributions to other editors.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. XL in the *Theater* collection.



lished in the *Correspondant* in the years 1847-51 under the title "Les Poètes franciscains en Italie au XIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles," and republished in book form, with some additions and alterations, in 1852, in Paris, under the title *Les Poètes franciscains en Italie au treizième siècle*. The book was reprinted in 1855 as Volume V of the *Œuvres complètes* of Ozanam, and in 1859 as Volume V of the second edition of the *Œuvres complètes*.<sup>1</sup>

In the essay entitled "Le bienheureux Jacopone de Todi," published in the *Correspondant* on March 10, 1851, the idea that Jacopone was a precursor of Dante is touched upon in the two opening paragraphs.<sup>2</sup> A few paragraphs below occurs the following account of the death of Jacopone's wife:

Il arriva qu'un jour de l'année 1268, la ville de Todi célébrait des jeux publics. La jeune épouse du juris-consulte fut invitée; elle prit place sur une estrade couverte de nobles femmes, pour jouir de la fête et pour en faire le plus aimable ornement. Tout à coup l'estrade s'écroule. Au bruit des madriers qui se brisent et des cris qui éclatent, Jacques se précipite, reconnaît sa femme parmi les victimes, l'enlève encore palpitante, et veut la délivrer de ses vêtements. Mais elle, d'une main pudique, repoussait les efforts de son mari, jusqu'à ce que, l'ayant portée dans un lieu retiré, il put la découvrir enfin. Sous les riches tissus qu'elle portait, il aperçut un cilice: au même instant, la mourante rendit le dernier soupir.<sup>3</sup>

In a continuation of this essay, published on April 10, 1851, the idea that Jacopone was a precursor of Dante is developed at length.<sup>4</sup>

Professor Howard F. Lowry, of the College of Wooster, who has access to many unpublished letters and diaries of Matthew Arnold, informs me that Arnold read the *Correspondant* regularly in the years shortly before and after the middle of the century; that in his reading list for 1864 there occurs the entry "Ozanam on Franciscan Poetry"; and that this entry is checked as having been read.<sup>5</sup>

In view of these circumstances it is obvious that Ozanam's account of the death of Jacopone's wife, read either in the *Correspondant* or in book form,

<sup>1</sup> Later editions were published in 1870 (in the 3d ed. of the *Œuvres complètes*), 1872, 1873 (in the 4th ed. of the *Œuvres complètes*), and in 1913. I owe this bibliographical information to the kindness of M. Julien Cain of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Correspondant*, XXVII, 641-42; ed. of 1852, pp. 164-66. The first sentence is: "Les grands poètes ne naissent pas d'ordinaire aux temps héroïques." The last two sentences are: "Ce fut la destinée d'un Italien plus ancien que Dante, et en qui l'Ordre de Saint-François trouva son poète le plus populaire et le plus inspiré. Je veux parler du bienheureux Jacopone de Todi."

<sup>3</sup> *Le Correspondant*, XXVII, 644; ed. of 1852, pp. 170-71.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Correspondant*, XXVIII, 32-35. In the edition of 1852 this continuation appears as a separate essay, entitled "Les Poésies de Jacopone." The passage in question occurs on pp. 267-72.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Lowry informs me also that in Arnold's diary for 1864 there occurs the entry "Correspondant on Ozanam." This is undoubtedly a reference to the long article by François Beslay, "Le Professorat de M. Ozanam," which was published in the *Correspondant* on December 25, 1863 (LX, 832-64).

was the source of Arnold's familiar sonnet "Austerity of Poetry," which is as follows:

That son of Italy who tried to blow,  
Ere Dante came, the trump of sacred song,  
In his light youth amid a festal throng  
Sate with his bride to see a public show.

Fair was the bride, and on her front did glow  
Youth like a star; and what to youth belong,  
Gay raiment, sparkling gauds, elation strong.  
A prop gave way! crash fell a platform! lo,

Mid struggling sufferers, hurt to death, she lay!  
Shuddering they drew her garments off—and found  
A robe of sackcloth next the smooth, white skin.

Such, poets, is your bride, the Muse! young, gay,  
Radiant, adorn'd outside; a hidden ground  
Of thought and of austerity within.\*

Since the essay in question was first published on March 10, 1851, the sonnet cannot have been composed before that date. The sonnet was first published in 1867. In view of that fact and of the fact that Arnold read Ozanam's book in 1864, it seems probable that the sonnet was composed in or soon after 1864.

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\* Matthew Arnold, *New Poems* (London, 1867), p. 104. A note to the first line identifies the "son of Italy" as "Giacopone di Todi."

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Bibliographisches Handbuch zur deutschen Philologie.* By FRITZ LOEWENTHAL. Halle: Niemeyer, 1932. Pp. xii+217.

From almost the beginning of its history Germanic philology has rejoiced in the possession of elementary, introductory handbooks of scholarly bibliography. The list might even begin with the works of Johannes Trithemius, *Catalogus illustrium virorum* (Mainz, 1495; copy in the University of Chicago Library) and *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel, 1494; copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago), works which have never been examined sympathetically and interpretatively as contributions to German literary history and bibliography. The modern handbooks may be said to stem from E. J. Koch, *Compendium der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (also entitled *Grundriss einer Geschichte der Sprache und Literatur der Deutschen bis auf Lessings Tod* in the second edition), I (Berlin, 1791, <sup>2</sup>1795), II (1798), which, it is instructive to note, very soon required a second edition. Milestones in the course of development are Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Deutsche Philologie im Grundriss* (Berlin, 1836); and Karl von Bahder, *Die deutsche Philologie im Grundriss* (Paderborn, 1883). Without endeavoring to write a history of such handbooks or even to name them all, it is worth remarking that a German scholar in England contributed a work of this sort to the equipment of English scholars (K. Breul, *A Handy Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the German Language and Literature* [London, 1895]), an Italian to his countrymen (G. Manacorda, *Germania filologica* [Cremona, 1909]), and an American to his (J. S. Nollen, *Chronology and Practical Bibliography of Modern German Literature* [Chicago, 1903]). No other modern language can point to a similar equipment of aids.

The latest addition to the list is Loewenthal's *Bibliographisches Handbuch*. On the whole, the book is good, and it is notable for some significant innovations. It has a wider scope than its predecessors: prehistory, mythology, folklore, and the study of names find a more generous recognition than hitherto, and Dutch and Scandinavian works are included with greater readiness than before. Some comment on details is in place when noticing a work which deals primarily with detail. Admirable are the lists of the bibliographies of the publications of individual scholars (A 3b), their collected works (A 4), and *Festschriften* (A 5), although the three lists might better have been combined into one to facilitate reference. Probably the Strauch volume (*Festgabe*, etc., "Hermæa," No. 31 [Halle, 1932]) appeared too late for inclusion; the Feilberg volume (No. 107) should be identified as the issue of *Svenska landsmål ock svenskt folklif* (Stockholm) for 1911, and so, too, the Brandl volume (No. 29) as "Pa-

laestra," Nos. 147-48. In general, such bibliographical facts are too frequently missing and occasionally the omission is more troublesome than in the instances cited; e.g., the *Festskrift til Rektor J. Qvigstad* is "Tromsø Museums Skrifter," II (Oslo, 1928). Considerable space, moreover, might be saved by entering the reference to the series on the same line with other bibliographical information instead of devoting a separate line to it. The list of philological periodicals and serials (A 6) might be condensed by due reference to R. F. Arnold, *Allgemeine Bücherkunde zur neueren deutschen Literaturgeschichte*<sup>2</sup>, pages 16 ff., where the literary-historical periodicals are fully listed. There are various titles which might be recommended for notice or correction under different heads; e.g., No. 341, Graff and Dietherr, *Deutsche Rechtssprichwörter*, is better cited in the second edition (Nördlingen, 1869). In this section on legal history (B 6: "Rechtsgeschichte") R. Schroeder and E. Freiherr von Künssberg, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*<sup>6</sup> (Berlin, 1922), should by all means have been included. J. A. MacCulloch's *Eddic Mythology* is cited in B 9, presumably because it is the latest book. It should not have been cited in place of E. H. Meyer's works (*Germanische Mythologie* [Berlin, 1891]; *Mythologie der Germanen* [Strassburg, 1903]), which are valuable for their wealth of bibliographical information (whatever one may think of their mythological theories), and W. Golther's *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1895). I have given a bibliographical account of handbooks of folklore in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXVI (1927), 593-95, an account which might find appropriate place under "Methodik der Volkskunde" (p. 39). Along with the Middle German and Upper German periodicals for folklore (Nos. 432-33) the *Bayrische Hefte für Volkskunde* I (1914 ff.) deserves mention. *Language*, I (1925 ff.) belongs among the general linguistic periodicals (C 12). Pedersen's *Sprogvidenskaben* (No. 545) has been translated into English by J. W. Spargo (Cambridge, 1931) and Leonard Bloomfield's *Language* (New York, 1933) can now be entered on one of the following pages, although it was not available to Loewenthal. The fundamental bibliography of all Finnish words which have been connected with Germanic words is E. N. Setälä, "Äldre germanische Bestandteile in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen," *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen*, XIII (1913), 345-475; it should have been given after No. 641. Holthausen's *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* ("Germanische Bibliothek," IV, 7 [Heidelberg, 1932 ff.]) will find a place next to No. 683. An enlarged second edition of the catalogue of the Kippenberg Goethe collection (No. 1276) has been out for some time (Leipzig, 1928), and Sauer's epoch-making rectoral speech *Literaturgeschichte und Volkskunde* (No. 473 = 1382), can be had in a reprint (Stuttgart, 1925). In the absence of any comprehensive history of the German novel Loewenthal should mention Mielke, *Geschichte des deutschen Romans*<sup>3</sup> ("Sammlung Göschen," No. 229 [Berlin, 1913]) in D 20c, page 146. The best essay on riddles (Loewenthal, D 20c, p. 155) is W. Schultz, "Rätsel," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. My "Introductory Bibliogra-

phy for the Study of Proverbs," *Modern Philology*, XXX (1932), 195-210, supplements the titles on pages 157-58. The Conrad Ferdinand Meyer bibliography (No. 1328a) is published, the reader should be warned, in a serial publication issued by a German bookseller for his customers rather than in a more substantial journal as the title might seem to indicate. Such comments and additions will occur to any attentive reader and may be utilized for a second edition.

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*History of Norwegian Literature.* By THEODORE JORGENSEN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. 559.

This is the first original history in English of all Norwegian literature. In one brief, closely packed volume the author has presented a distinctly useful and capable survey of Norwegian literature from the runic monuments of antiquity to the literary successes of yesterday. In this survey he has included, as is customary in Norway, the literature of medieval Iceland and the Norwegian-born authors of the Dano-Norwegian period (1397-1814). For the herculean task which he has here completed, all who teach and all who read Norwegian literature must be extremely grateful to the author. It is a book which should find a place in every university and public library of any pretensions whatever.

A history of literature covering a field so wide and yet so little known can scarcely escape being of somewhat uneven value. It must aim to be at once a reference book, a textbook, and a popular survey. In the opinion of this reviewer its greatest value lies in its use as a reference book, and he will therefore deal with it from this point of view only, reserving the other aspects for treatment elsewhere.

Down to 1880 Norwegian literature constitutes a fairly simple and continuous stream, which lends itself to chronological treatment. Classicism, romanticism, and realism succeed one another according to the typical European scheme. The giants Ibsen and Bjørnson cut across the division lines of periods, and are given separate chapters. All minor authors, like Andreas Munch, are subordinated to the main narrative. But from 1880 on the multiplicity of authors makes all division into periods and movements arbitrary. Professor Jorgenson here attempts only a general survey at the beginning of each chapter and then allows the narrative to disintegrate into a series of separate articles concerning each author. In the chapter headed "Naturalism" he has included authors like Arne Garborg, Gunnar Heiberg, and Nils Collett Vogt, who did their best work in other genres than naturalism; authors like Kielland, who was a realist rather than a naturalist; and authors like J. B. Bull and Kr. Janson, who were the very antithesis of naturalism.

These are bracketed together because they happened to make their débuts in the turbulent eighties, when naturalism was most hotly debated.

In the later chapters there is an approach to a complete literary picture of the times. So many names are here introduced to the American public for the first time that it seems almost presumptuous to ask for more. But I must quarrel with the writer over the omission of the two outstanding New Norse lyric poets Elias Blix and Alexander Seippel, as well as of younger writers like Haakon Garaasen, author of the Swedish border; Inge Krokann, author of remarkable medieval novels from Trøndelag; and Olav Nygard, lately deceased. Among the younger authors in Dano-Norwegian, I should like to add Fredrik Parelius, Arne Paasche Aasen (labor lyricist), Haakon Lie, Axel Maurer, Ragnvald Vaage, and Julli Wiborg. So brilliant a writer as Cora Sandel might well have been granted a separate article.

Over and above the accumulation of biographical facts comes Professor Jorgenson's comment and interpretation. His own bent of mind expresses itself clearly in the nature of these comments, which are predominantly social and ideological. He is more concerned with tracing the roots of literature in social and intellectual life than with illuminating the artistic urge itself or describing the nature of its manifestations. The result is a highly abstract and technical vocabulary which constitutes a real obstacle in the reading of the book. Such a movement as the realism of the seventies cannot, of course, be understood without some reference to the social and philosophical movements of the day. But the discussion of individual authors and works often suffers by the predominant attention to purpose rather than to artistic form. Thus Björnson's *Beyond Human Power I* is characterized by its "central purpose"—"to show the pernicious influence of a super-naturalistic religion"—without a reference to the tragic figure of pastor Sang, and the tender portrayal of human character face to face with "the impossible." Even the gentle Peter Egge, of whom Elster says that "the study of human character is his only concern," is here credited with an idea, Jorgenson's own favorite conception, that "from richness of function comes buoyancy and happiness, growth, and self-confidence."

Professor Jorgenson has packed an amazing amount of information into this little volume. No handbook of Norwegian literature in the original and scarcely even the more extended histories offer so many concrete facts. Each author is treated with a biographical fulness approaching the encyclopedic, and in addition there is injected a great deal of historical and philosophical background.

In such a formidable array of facts and interpretations it is inevitable that errors should have crept in to mar the work. The simplest errors are those which concern individual facts or names, such as the following: "Sagnarel" for "Sganarel" (p. 148), "natural" for "national" (p. 280), "pendant" for "pennant" (p. 343); "Einride Tveito" misspelled (p. 530), "Torkell Mauland" (p. 323), "Jaabæk" (p. 324); "Ivar" for "Isak" (Sellanraa) (p. 400), and the

like. Ibsen (p. 252) never became a university student; *The Family at Gilje* (p. 305) does not deal with the latter half of the nineteenth century; Hamsun was born in Lom, not in Vaagaa (p. 391), and his book *Et Gjensyn* (p. 392) is not a story but a poem; the title of *A Wanderer*, etc. (p. 399), does not contain the words "when he is fifty years." More difficult to detect are the errors of omission: Swift is not mentioned in connection with *Niels Klim* (p. 154), nor George Sand with *Amtmandens Døtre* (p. 297), nor Björnson with *Björger* (p. 393), nor Freud with Sigurd Hoel (p. 534); Fasting's chief production, *Provinsialblade* (p. 173), is omitted; Kjær's essays are not characterized (p. 422); Th. Kjerulf is called a "scientist" (p. 198) with not even a passing reference to his poetry. In the Old Norse verse on page 31 Jorgenson has overlooked the so-called "half-rhymes" in lines 1 and 3; and 'primitive Nordie' (p. 6) is a very questionable translation of *urnordisk*.

In spite of these and other errors, however, the statements of fact are generally accurate and well chosen. In particular the dates seem to be carefully checked; few slips have been discovered there.

Professor Jorgenson's entry into fields which demand special training and study has occasionally exposed him to the specialist's criticism. His orthography of Old Norse names is an important case in point. Such a form as "Torbjörn Hornklove" (ON *þorbjörn hornklofi*) is characteristic and reveals its origin in a modern Norwegian history of literature. One may question the value of presenting unfamiliar Old Norse names (especially Icelandic names) to an American audience in modern Norwegian forms—but in any event one might surely demand that the practice be consistent. Torbjörn (p. 33) and Tordsson (p. 42) have no reason for beginning differently from Thorfinn (p. 45); nor should Grotti (p. 22) and Helgi (p. 23) end with a different vowel from Hornklove (p. 33) or Snorre (p. 57) or Gisla (!) (p. 38). The last vowel in *Eiriksmaal* (p. 34), in *Hovamol* (p. 18), and in *ljothaháttir* (p. 17) should be identical, as should the endings of *Hymir* (p. 20), *Fenrir* (p. 35), and *Lagabote* (p. 51).

In his otherwise excellent chapter on "The New Norse Movement," Professor Jorgenson tells about Ivar Aasen's early life and background, his dialect studies, his first grammar and dictionary, his motives—in short, everything except the consummation of his work, namely, his founding and initiation of the movement itself. He does not tell us that Aasen created a common denominator for the dialects and used this in his own writings; hence it must seem a bit mysterious to the uninitiated just what Aasen did besides studying the dialects.

An attractive and ingenious feature of the book is the list of productions attached by a footnote to each author's name. In this way Professor Jorgenson has avoided overloading his pages with parentheses. He has listed all titles in English, making his own translation when necessary. This commendable practice, however, fails to reveal the existence or nonexistence of English translations of the book in question. American readers would undoubtedly



have appreciated knowing whether translations are available, say of Garborg, and this might very easily have been indicated. The student of Norwegian would also have been glad for a more general inclusion of the Norwegian titles, as they are found, for example, under Sigurd Hoel. Translation of titles is admittedly difficult, and occasionally the result is questionable, as when giants instead of heroes appear in "Norge Kjæmpers Fødeland" (p. 174) or the author unthinkingly repeats the meaningless and incorrect 'Hill Innocent' for *Haugtussa*. Occasional omissions, as Hamsun's *Queen Tamara*, and Holberg's *Moral Fables*, are inevitable and not too serious. It may seem like asking the superhuman to wish that the author had also indicated the type of literature to which each book belonged, as he has done under H. Kinck. But these are merely suggestions toward a procedure and a perfection which no doubt would have required more time and labor than the author could spare. Even as they are, these lists give more than any other history of Norwegian literature, large or small.

After each author there is a bibliography the value of which scarcely seems to justify the prominence given it. These references might best have been relegated to a footnote (like the list of works) or to the back of the book. At present they are a mere haphazard aggregation of books and articles, with little evidence of critical selection or painstaking accuracy. Omission of date and place of publication furthermore makes them difficult of access and evaluation. Many references are included which should not have been there: the omnipresent Elster and other comprehensive histories of literature, which only take up precious space; works of questionable source value, e.g., Lee, *The Ibsen Secret* (p. 267); Tante, *Living Authors* (p. 457); and works containing little or nothing about the author in question, e.g., Bull, *Studier og Streiftog* (after Wildenvey); and Topsøe-Jensen (after some younger authors barely mentioned in that work, and after Axel Krogh, who is not mentioned at all). The omission of important references is too common to be pointed out in detail; one can only record with regret the absence of Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, on page 96 and Moltke Moe, *Samlede Skrifter*, on page 113. Misprints (or errors) are especially rife in this section. The bibliography as a whole does not reveal a careful attention proportionate to the space it occupies; it is a mere shapeless torso of what it might have been for the scholar or the student who so sorely misses a comprehensive bibliography of Norwegian literature.

A good many of the more annoying errors which appear in this work should undoubtedly be laid at the door of the publishers, who got it out in an almost unseemly haste. They allowed misprints and obvious errors in English to pass unnoticed from the mimeographed edition into the completed work. They failed to submit the work to competent scholars for checking and criticism. They failed to equip this expensive volume with such invaluable aids as maps and illustrations. One cannot repress a sigh at the thought of



what the book might have been, had it been allowed to simmer and mature in the author's mind.

In spite of this, mature and speculative minds will find much to interest them. They will learn something of how the Norwegian people has created "mental symbols," "a body of values crystallized and expressed in the minds of its great artists"—or, in other words, the ideology of Norwegian authors. And any student of Norwegian literature can turn here for specific facts with a fair assurance of accuracy, and a comprehensiveness never before equaled in English.

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*Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival und Titirel.* Edited by KARL BARTSCH. 4th ed.; revised by MARTA MARTI. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1927-32. 3 vols.

This new edition brings much that is useful and valuable, although a definitive critical edition is yet to be made. It follows the model set by Bartsch in supplying a running commentary designed rather to make the text intelligible than to discuss textual and critical problems. The changes which Marti makes in revising Bartsch consist in adopting more readings from MS D, which Lachmann and modern scholars prefer to MS G; in reducing the extent of interpretative paraphrases in modern German; in removing critical matter and references to scholarly literature; and in canceling the line references to parallel passages in Chrétien. All of these changes, except the last, conform to the purpose of this edition. It is to be a convenient introductory text for the beginner in the study of Wolfram. The space gained by the sacrifice of references to Chrétien is negligible, and convenience in comparison is lost. Possibly Marti did not wish to cite Potvin or Baist, when Hilka's edition was so soon to supersede them. At *Parz.* 112, 12, Marti does not mention that Wisse and Colin insert the Middle High German translation of the *Elucidation*. As we see, Marti fixes her attention on Wolfram's text and seeks no comparisons.

Each of the available editions of *Parzival* has its place in the library of a student of medieval (and especially of Arthurian) literature: Martin provides the scholarly commentary, although a great deal of water has run under the bridge in the last thirty years; Leitzmann gives a cheap and handy text based on his preference for MS G; Hartl modernizes the old standard edition by Lachmann into which so many errors had crept in the course of its many editions: Marti, as I have said, is a convenient and attractive edition for the beginner. It can be compared to its great advantage with the old edition by Piper which served the same ends.

A special value in Marti's revision lies in the variety of problems it

gests. The bibliography (I, lx-lxiv; III, 260) reminds us by implication that someone must bring Panzer's list of studies on Wolfram up to date. Much has appeared since 1897. Marti's bibliography does not strive to be complete, and additions are therefore hardly in order. Yet, I should have expected to find the second edition of J. D. Bruce's *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (1928) with Hilka's "Bibliographischer Nachtrag" and A. W. Thompson's *The Elucidation: A Prologue to the Conte del Graal* (New York, 1931). Since Marti lists Potvin's edition of Grail texts which include *Perlesvaus*, add also *Perlesvaus* (ed. Nitze and Jenkins [Chicago, 1932]). Maurice Wilmette's new translation of *Parzival* (Paris, 1933) appeared too late for mention. Marti's list of manuscripts (I, lix) calls attention indirectly to the fact that there is still no satisfactory edition of *Der jüngere Titurel*. The ample "Index rerum" (III, 324-46) collects in handy fashion the many subjects touched on in the notes and thus supplies material for investigation. Such tests as I have made show it to be accurate: possibly *Parz.* 296, 9, should have been entered under "Sprichwort."

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*La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)*. PAR VIRGILE PINOT. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1932. Pp. 480.

This volume belongs to a group of works which attempt to trace the contribution of oriental exoticism to the eighteenth-century spirit in France. In contrast to the books of Pierre Martino, Reichwein, and others, who have dealt with the external phenomena of the movement, M. Pinot's work seeks to discover the effects of French sinophilism on the thought of the forerunners of the *philosophes*. The author closes the period of his study with the year 1740. There is both an advantage and a disadvantage in this limitation. It is the growing period of sinophilism which, as the writer points out, is one of slow initiation, of the gradual accumulation of evidence amid social and political conditions which made it possible to use that evidence. After 1740 the movement came to its fruition. On the other hand, there was no break in the movement when Voltaire appeared to take upon himself the rôle of its most ardent supporter. It would perhaps have been better to extend the study to 1767 when the most striking document of sinomania, the *Despotisme de la Chine*, appeared. This would have enabled the author to include the influence of China on the economic thought of the time, an important aspect of the question (M. Pinot has treated this subject in an article published in the *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 1906-7).

The external phases of sinomania (the cult of *chinoiseries*, *magots de la Chine*) seem to have had no vital relation to the philosophical aspects of the movement, and the author has rightly left to the works of Belevitch-Stankevitch, Cordier, Reichwein, and others the task of enlightening us regarding

this phase of the subject. In limiting himself to the ideological aspect he has had a much more difficult task than his predecessors. The period was one in which evidence was pouring in from all parts of the world to disturb the current of French classical thought. These new ideas lost themselves in the rising tide of antireligious thought. The most valuable part of M. Pinot's work lies in his efforts to extricate from the mass of material that which has undoubted Chinese sources.

The movement had its inception and was guided in its development by the missionary efforts of the Jesuits, and therefore it was closely allied to the fortunes of the Society. As the author points out, it was at a moment when the Jesuit prestige was low in France, in 1700, that the enemies of the Society launched their attack on the *Mémoires* of Lecomte with its open championship of Confucian morals and Chinese religion. The movement was shaped and guided by the order in Europe to suit the exigencies of the moment. On this account the *Lettres édifiantes* became "légèrement artificieuses"; matter in Duhalde's great work was carefully "edited"; De Mailla's *Histoire* was withheld for a time from publication, and even Couplet's *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* (which introduced the teachings of the sage to Europe) was revised by the Parisian editor to assert the belief of the Chinese in a supreme being and in the immortality of the soul.

M. Pinot finds three currents of ideas which were influenced by the new knowledge of China, those namely, which involved (1) the question of chronology, (2) the problem of the relation of religion to morals, and (3) the problem of the relation of morals to government.

Probably the most valuable chapter in the book is that dealing with the controversy over Chinese chronology. Here the material presented by the Jesuits was really valuable, for, unconsciously, they brought, through the evidence of the Chinese classics, the first convincing arguments against the veracity of the biblical story of the flood. The author shows how the Jesuits themselves saw the danger of their sinophilism and attempted to modify their claims regarding the antiquity of the Chinese. Their efforts caused a difference of opinion within the order. To bring harmony to their theories the missionaries in Peking adopted the Septuagint chronology (which the members of the order at home were loath to do) while a third group, in Peking, turned their backs completely on the evidence of the Chinese classics. The account of this last-named group, the "figuristes," as Freret called them, is, I believe, the best that has appeared, but it is disappointingly brief. The author shows that by 1740 the chronology of the Chinese classics was definitely accepted in France at the expense of the biblical account of the flood. The controversy continued, however, until the end of the eighteenth century, though it gradually shifted to a discussion of the origin of the Chinese. Huet suggested an Egyptian origin, and he was supported by Dortous de Mairan, the *secrétaire* of the Académie des Sciences, who corresponded with Père Parrenin, an eloquent opponent of the theory. Toward the end of the century the scholars

(probably under the influence of an increasing interest in India) began to suggest the possibility of a mid-Asian civilization, the forerunner of both Indian and Chinese culture.

The chapter on the rites controversy might profitably have been extended to include a more comprehensive account of the quarrel. The struggle was not solely between the Society and the Missions Etrangères, as M. Pinot seems to imply, but involved other orders of the church, notably the Dominicans and Franciscans. The most important non-Jesuit, first-hand book on China during the period, the *Tratados* of the Dominican Navarrete, had its inception in the Quarrel, which was fought out as bitterly in Rome as in Paris. As a religious controversy the rites quarrel was second in importance only to the Jesuit struggle with Jansenism since it practically forced the Society into the position of defending that deism which was the greatest enemy of the church.

The second tendency of the sinophile movement was toward the destruction of the idea that there is an essential relation between morals and religion. M. Pinot discusses the contribution of Pierre Bayle, who makes use of China to support his doctrines regarding the respectability of atheism. The author finds that belief in the atheism of the Chinese was generally accepted by 1740 in France. It must be remembered, however, that Voltaire and others changed their opinion later and classed the Chinese among the deists. If M. Pinot's conclusion is correct, it is obvious that, in this respect, the cult of China took another direction about the middle of the century. It may be that the influence of Leibniz, who had tried to bring China within his visionary scheme of a universal cult, had something to do with this change.

The third tendency of the movement—its contribution of ideas regarding the relation of government and morals—was less fully developed, according to the author. This is natural since the majority of the *philosophes* were conservative in questions of government. Voltaire, more than any other, emphasized the supposed paternalistic element in the Chinese political system. He seems to assert that in the trinity religion, morals, and government, the first might be absorbed in the second and the last combined with it. Nevertheless the earlier writers were impressed with the idea that politics "n'est autre chose qu'une morale collective," and the author is perhaps right in asserting that this was the greatest revelation made by the *rêve chinois*.

The writer notes the untrustworthiness of some of the Jesuits' information about China. When the movement passed its climax, the *philosophes* began to realize this fact, and we find Grimm, in reporting the translation of the first Chinese novel, remarking that the book gives a clearer idea of the genius and customs of the Chinese than the whole of Duhalde (*Corr. litt.* [1766]). The *philosophes*, and indeed the Jesuit missionaries themselves, in trying to draw a hard line between an atheistic China and a China potentially Christian, ignored the essential eclecticism of the *san chiao*, which is at the base of the Chinese religious system. Furthermore, the anti-Christian bias of the *philosophes* caused them to overlook the lack of perfect homogeneity which is to

be found in all countries. Nevertheless, the eighteenth century did get an adequate conception of the fundamental humanism of the cult of Confucius and its tremendous influence on one of the oldest and richest cultures of the world. Among all the mistakes of the sinophile movement this knowledge was sure and lasting.

M. Pinot's concluding chapter is a little disappointing, although it contains a number of discerning comments on the situation in France at the end of the period. An attempt to link the results of the movement with other rationalistic and destructive tendencies in the literature of the period would have served to place it in its proper perspective. The volumes of Chinard and Atkinson, for example, show the same iconoclastic tendencies in other fields of cosmopolitanism, although the sinophile movement brought to the struggle the evidence of a civilization which in importance outweighed all the rest. Herein lies the importance of M. Pinot's work. In its careful accumulation of evidence and its accurate and intelligent conclusions it is a real contribution to the subject of oriental exoticism in the eighteenth century.

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*The Gloomy Egoist: Moods and Themes of Melancholy from Gray to Keats.* BY ELEANOR M. SICKELS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. x+456.

Le livre de Miss Sickels a pour point de départ celui de Miss, aujourd'hui Professor, Amy Reed: *The Background of Gray's "Elegy."* Elle reprend l'enquête au point où sa devancière l'avait arrêtée, en sorte que ces deux volumes juxtaposés offrent une histoire assez complète de la poésie mélancolique anglaise du milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1825 environ. Car Miss Sickels ne s'est pas bornée aux préromantiques, ce qui eût gardé à son livre une essentielle unité: elle a tenu à étudier ce que devenaient, entre les mains de Wordsworth, de Byron, de Shelley ou de Keats, les grands thèmes de la poésie mélancolique du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.—Pourquoi s'arrêter là? Une fois dégagés de la forme souvent timide et conventionnelle que leur avaient donnée les préromantiques, s'exprimant désormais avec plus de hardiesse et de personnalité, ces thèmes éternels de la rêverie désenchantée reparaissent dans tels Victoriens, avec des accents nouveaux bien entendu.—Ce livre lui-même fait constater une rupture assez nette, une différence de potentiel entre 1790 et 1810. Changements sociaux et moraux? apparition de plus puissants génies poétiques? Les deux, probablement. Aussi le lecteur note-t-il une différence significative entre le traitement de chaque question avant et après ce point critique. L'auteur dit dans sa préface: "the closer and more detailed research has been in the transition years"; c'est visible en effet; mais elle ajoute: "if anything new be here presented, it is probably rather in the history of those years than

in any radically unexpected interpretation of romanticism proper." Or, si les détails, pour la période préromantique (l'expression "transition years" est à rayer du vocabulaire de l'historien: toutes les époques sont *de transition*, même la soi-disant *Peace of the Augustans*) sont plus abondants et les résultats plus nouveaux, par contre, quand l'auteur traite des grands romantiques, débarrassée du souci d'utiliser d'innombrables fiches, elle pénètre plus à fond dans les œuvres, et, surtout dans le dernier chapitre, elle en exprime l'essence avec plus de force; si ses commentaires ne sont pas "radically unexpected," ils attestent une fraîcheur d'impression que rien ne remplace, ils sont intéressants, solides et vigoureux. Cette seconde période, qui termine chaque chapitre, diffère de la première par la matière et la méthode (quelques grands rôles, peu de comparses, des âmes individuelles étudiées à loisir), au point que l'on a souvent l'impression de deux ouvrages différents collés l'un à l'autre morceau par morceau.

Le sujet était, de soi-même, vaste et indéterminé. On aurait pu le limiter, mais artificiellement. Miss Sickels a préféré y comprendre toutes les nuances de sentiment qui ont suggéré la mélancolie. Un chapitre préliminaire, qui tente de fixer ce qu'offrirait en ce genre la poésie anglaise entre 1748 et 1758, d'après la *Collection* de Dodsley, et d'après elle presque uniquement.—Pourquoi ne pas avoir élargi cette enquête? Le recueil de Dodsley offre une significative carte d'échantillons, mais l'auteur aurait sans doute trouvé ailleurs de quoi le compléter.—Un chapitre sur l'attitude mélancolique a priori, qui invite à accueillir les divers sentiments qui vont être étudiés. Quatre chapitres où sont exposés tous les thèmes qui entrent dans la mélancolie littéraire de cette époque: le thème *Sed ubi sunt ... ?* (la formule choisie ici comme titre: "Sic transit gloria mundi" me paraît moins appropriée); la méditation sur la mort ("King Death"); l'élégie amoureuse ("Blighted Roses"); le sentiment de la nature en tant qu'il engendre la mélancolie, sous le titre plus prétentieux que clair: "The Sounding Cataract." Enfin un chapitre, "The Soul of a Poet," sur les éléments personnels et intimes de la mélancolie, devenue le mal de vivre, le mal du siècle, *der Weltschmerz*, surtout marqué à partir de Kirke White et chez les romantiques.

Les quatre chapitres centraux, consacrés aux thèmes de la mélancolie préromantique, offrent l'inconvénient de toucher à une foule de sujets sans pouvoir en approfondir aucun. Les 39 pages du chapitre iii parlent du "Mutability Theme" en général; du succès de l'*Elégie* de Gray, de son influence, même pour la métrique; de la poésie des ruines; de l'ossianisme; du temps en soi et de la conception philosophique qu'en offrent Coleridge et Shelley. Ce sont autant de mondes divers, dont certains, comme l'ossianisme, ne peuvent être vus ici que par un coin, et sont forcément traités en partie par allusions; la poésie des cimetières se retrouve ici et dans le chapitre iv, à propos de l'influence de Young, Blair et Hervey. Le sentiment de la nature est traité sans doute du seul point de vue de la mélancolie, mais la classification ici proposée, en cinq groupes d'impressions, n'est pas très efficace. L'auteur paraît in-



suffisamment informée de ce qui a été écrit sur cette difficile question, même à propos de la poésie anglaise. "Pathetic fallacy" est son shibboleth. S'étant plongée dans la poésie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle comme elle l'a fait, elle pouvait nous proposer une classification plus précise et plus pratique. Par exemple, on peut à cette époque distinguer: le thème "Let us walk . . .", qui amorce la promenade à la recherche d'impressions tendres et mélancoliques; le thème "Let us sit, where . . ." ou de l'arrêt au point de vue, propice aux réflexions sur les ruines, etc. . . ; le thème de la rêverie philosophique dans la forêt, en automne (tout passe . . .); celui de la solitude, "far from the madding crowd . . ."; le thème émouvant du promeneur qui voit reflourir le printemps et qui s'écrie avec Bruce "But not to me returns. . . ." D'ailleurs ce chapitre tourne court avant les grands romantiques. On se demande, en somme, s'il était possible de traiter avec l'ampleur nécessaire tant de nuances sentimentales et tant d'écrivains en 347 pages de 300 mots environ.

Ce livre repose sur des dépouillements très étendus; l'auteur prévient qu'elle n'a pas cherché à les faire *complets*, et je l'en loue: c'est une prétention généralement irréalisable, et un labeur inutile. Elle a classé pour le mieux cette quantité de fiches, non sans hésitation, je le suppose: certaines ont peut-être voyagé plusieurs fois d'un dossier-chapitre à l'autre, car un tel classement reste toujours quelque peu discutable. Elle a construit sur ses textes un développement très intelligent, agréable, souvent spirituel et souriant (de la lecture assidue de tant de jérémiades, je l'ai éprouvé jadis, naïf invinciblement un optimisme ironique). Son livre est riche, précis, clair; il est en somme exact, autant qu'on peut l'affirmer quand on a parcouru soi-même en plusieurs sens, quoique plus rapidement, la même région poétique.

La liste des ouvrages utilisés a été réduite à l'essentiel, sans quoi elle pourrait grossir à l'infini. Néanmoins on voudrait y voir, sur le *Weltschmerz*, l'ouvrage de J.-M. Carré: *Goethe en Angleterre*, plus récent et plus utile que celui d'Oswald cité ici. Ma *Poésie de la nuit et des tombeaux* a reparu, beaucoup plus complète, et pour certaines parties transformée, dans *Le Prérromantisme*, Tome II (1930); c'est sous cette forme qu'elle doit être utilisée désormais. *Ossian en France* est de 1917, non 1927. Donner comme seules dates 1905 au *Naturalisme en Angleterre* de Brandes, 1921 au *Keats* de Colvin, 1902 à l'*English Thought* de Leslie Stephen, parce que telles sont les dates des rééditions qu'on a eues entre les mains, c'est tomber dans un abus que je ne me lasserai pas de déplorer. Citer Cowper, Coleridge, Byron, et d'autres souvent réimprimés, par tome et page d'après l'édition consultée, sans donner le titre de la pièce ou du poème, c'est un autre abus, plus rare ici, qui rend les références déconcertantes et inefficaces. Tous les appels de notes de la page 128 (Shelley) sont brouillés, et il est difficile de rétablir les vrais chiffres.

Mais devant une matière aussi complexe et vaste, pourquoi la compliquer encore en faisant intervenir la forme du poème: sonnet, stances, etc.? Il se peut que le mètre adopté dénonce l'imitation *formelle* de Milton ou de Gray; mais *non erat hic locus*; cela ne fait rien du tout aux sentiments. L'auteur a été

trop influencée par le livre du Professeur R. D. Havens; il fallait n'en prendre que ce qui concernait son sujet.

L'auteur regrette (p. 375, n. 4) que je n'aie pas donné les références des 25 imitations indubitables des *Night Thoughts* que mon savant ami, le Professeur R. S. Crane, a bien voulu relever pour moi dans les journaux littéraires de 1747 à 1771. Dans un travail de littérature générale, je ne crois pas nécessaire, comme dans une thèse d'érudition sur un point spécial, d'étaler tout l'appareil de documentation sur lequel se fondent les affirmations. J'ai devant moi ces références, et je les publierais volontiers ici, pour faire plaisir à un auteur qui me cite si souvent, et pour être utile à ceux qui travailleront dans le même domaine; mais la place me manque.

L'auteur ne justifie pas assez explicitement son titre, qui est bien choisi, car cette mélancolie, qui coule à flots si abondants dans la poésie anglaise pendant près d'un siècle (rien de tel, du moins à ce degré, dans les autres littératures; en Allemagne la mode est plus courte, et nettement de source anglaise), est le plus souvent égoïste, étriquée; elle manque de large émotion humaine (quoique Young s'écrie: "I mourn for millions . . ."; mais ce mot reste isolé dans son œuvre), sauf chez Gray et quelquefois chez les romantiques. On pourrait essayer de sonder un peu plus profondément les causes de cette attitude morale qui tient tant de place dans la poésie: causes religieuses (bien que la hantise de la mort et du Jugement domine moins dans cette période que dans la précédente); circonstances sociales, etc. Les principales resteraient les causes littéraires: je ne parle pas de l'imitation de tel ou tel prédécesseur, mais de l'étape que la poésie descriptive, élégiaque, lyrique, fournissait alors entre la réserve de la tradition classique, exclusive de tout indiscret étalage des sentiments profonds de l'âme (non du *moi* de l'écrivain comme tel, lequel est partout présent) et la franchise passionnée de certains romantiques.

Quelques remarques de détail pour finir. Page 25: quand Johnson affirme de son ton tranchant et brutal: "He that describes his Neaera or Delia as a shepherdess . . . feels no passion," il oublie que le poète a bien souvent dû parler la langue à la mode pour donner à son amour une expression littéraire; l'exemple de Hammond, justement cité ici, le prouve.—Page 123: Volney a écrit *Les Ruines*, mais rien qui puisse se traduire par "The Ruins of Empire." —Page 158 sq.: le passage, de la rêverie sur la mort et les tombeaux *in abstracto*, à l'évocation des ruines et des abbayes "gothiques" s'explique surtout par la naissance, juste à ce moment-là, de la curiosité historique, de l'amour du passé comme tel, qui sera un élément essentiel du romantisme, mais qui apparaît beaucoup plus tôt en Angleterre qu'ailleurs.—Page 187: l'auteur paraît confondre les élégiaques latins et les auteurs d'églogues. En général sa connaissance des poètes anciens paraît peu sûre; lacune fréquente aujourd'hui chez les jeunes historiens des littératures modernes, et particulièrement regrettable quand il s'agit des poètes anglais d'autrefois, qui, eux, connaissaient leurs classiques.—Page 247: l'auteur se demande, devant tant de poètes



malades et morts jeunes, s'il n'y a pas "some subtle psychological or physiological connection between romantic genius in poetry and physical suffering and disease." Le second ne crée pas le premier, mais l'isole, l'exalte, et l'invite à s'exprimer.—Le dernier chapitre est bon; le résumé des divers *refuges* du poète est juste (cf. Farinelli, *Il romanticismo nel mondo latino*). Mais pourquoi faire commencer le romantisme en 1780? Il faudrait une autre coupure, et plus nette, vers 1798, et une autre vers 1810. La conclusion est nette; mais il est évident que chaque poète de valeur a sa propre conception, sa propre sensibilité, qu'il s'agisse de *Weltschmerz* (pp. 343, 346) ou d'autre chose.

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*The Early Development of Henry James.* By CORNELIA PULSIFER KELLEY. ("University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," Vol. XV, Nos. 1-2.) Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1930. Pp. 309.

Miss Kelley has cut off a section of James for treatment which involves his early work up to *The Siege of London*. The last novel included is *The Portrait of a Lady*. Roughly speaking, the period treated covers the years 1864-81, during which years he formed his mind.

After a preliminary statement of the problem, purpose, and method, we get a biographical chapter which ends with the year 1869 and leaves us with an impression of the importance of Boston in James's early life. Then his literary career begins, first as a critic, then, tentatively, as a story-writer. The author makes a particular note of James's acquaintance with Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister* (chaps. iii and iv). This novel, "read at a time when the novels given him to review brought glaringly to his attention the fact that their authors knew nought of human nature, became the positive influence among the negatives." The next notable event was the publication of *Felix Holt*, which, according to Miss Kelley, strengthened the philosophical lessons of Goethe and determined James's outlook in several ways (chap. v). The meeting with William Dean Howells shortly afterward was a further memorable event in James's life (chap. vi). The prospect, however, seemed by no means clear to the future novelist, and the author thinks that William James's return from Europe and his glowing descriptions of his experiences stirred his brother into activity in a certain direction which was to become decisive in his artistic life. In 1869 Henry James went to Europe. Here he gave expression to the difference which struck him between his native country and the Old World. It is too much to say that James accepted everything European as superior. There is much hesitation on his part. Italy, however, seems to have excited pure enthusiasm in him every time he visited it in the course of these years. And so it is quite natural that he should now begin his first ambitious

literary work, *Roderick Hudson*, at Florence. Even before that novel, James had finished the first instalment of his long series of fictions dealing with American independence and European convention in society, *Travelling Companions*, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1870. But James's conscious purpose was, according to the author, on his return to America to settle down as the painter of the American scene. The outcome of this decision, *Watch and Ward*, was not particularly promising. A discouraging sense of failure in this respect may account for James's devotion to art criticism about this time. Still, his book reviews at the same time show his absorption in a kind of literature which evidently urged him on to artistic creation. George Eliot and Turgénieff were discussed in a way which made clear a certain mental dependence on the part of James (interchapter B; chaps. viii-xiii).

James's life during the following six years was to a great extent spent in travel. England, France, Italy were once more visited and America began to fade from the horizon. In particular, he met in Paris many of the literary celebrities of the time: Turgénieff, Flaubert, Zola, Daudet, Maupassant, and others. His criticism from these years shows that he felt it imperative to make clear his own attitude toward the French fiction of the time, Balzac, Flaubert, the Goncourts. Closer still to him, the author thinks, were Turgénieff and George Eliot. The former put his imprint on the second ambitious piece of fiction undertaken by James, *The American*. The author brings out in a very interesting way how the hero of that novel fitted in with the demands which the Russian novelist laid down as regards his own work. James says quite rightly that Turgénieff's heroes "are never heroes in the literal sense of the word, rather quite the reverse; their function is to be conspicuous as failures, interesting but impotent persons who are losers at the game of life. . . . His central figure is usually a person in a false position, generally not of his own making, which, according to the peculiar perversity of fate, is only aggravated by his effort to right himself" (p. 240). As regards the heroine and the plot of *The American*, the author thinks that something was due also to George Sand.

James's *Life of Hawthorne*, published in 1879, seems to the author to be indicative of a certain separation between James the critic and James the novelist. That is to say, the author does not believe in a closer affinity between James and Hawthorne or in an influence exercised by the latter upon the former. Personally, I have been struck by the close similarity of the imagination evident in *Rappacini's Daughter* and that in *The Turn of the Screw*. Flower-like youth poisoned and inspiring nameless fear is the theme in both cases, and it is treated in a like spirit.

The last chapters are devoted to James's preoccupation with the contrasts between American and European society as evidenced in his short stories and novels from these years, in particular in *Daisy Miller* and *The Portrait of a Lady*. In her analysis of these works, the author is perhaps a little too much influenced by what she has found out—or thought she has found out—about the importance of George Eliot and Turgénieff for James's art. At least, it

strikes the reader as a sort of contradiction when he is told (on p. 293) that "it is clear that Gwendolen Harleth was the prototype of Isabel Archer, for the points which James noted about Gwendolen are the points which a critic must note about his heroine. Isabel is similar to Gwendolen in nature, in basic characteristics. . . . If there is any difference between the two heroines, it is that of degree—an intensification in Isabel—and not of kind." And then on page 296: "Isabel, thus, is like Newman in *The American*. Behind it all is the influence of Turgénieff and his use of failure, now thoroughly absorbed by James as a dominating principle." This impression of contradiction is hardly lessened by the sentence which follows immediately upon the latter passage.

Such is the trend of this painstaking and industrious treatise, which has mapped out James's development into a novelist in more detail than any earlier investigation. The outstanding fact about the book is that it has exploited the critical activity of James in order to show his literary indebtedness. We do not feel sure that this purpose has had only a salutary effect. A long acquaintance with James fails to bring out as close a dependence on George Eliot as the author wishes us to perceive. On the other hand, what about Hawthorne? I am afraid that it has proved misleading for the author to go by the more or less enthusiastic or more or less negative ring of James's voice in his criticism.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable result of the present treatise is something which I touched on above, in passing. In a work on Henry James we expect as a matter of course to find the name of Turgénieff. We find it in several places in the present treatise, particular interest attaching to pages 176 ff. Some years ago I noticed the spread throughout European literature during the latter half of the nineteenth century of some curious, rather stereotyped characters in the novel. There was the spirited young woman who was depicted as superior to the hero as regards will-power and enterprise. There was the weak hero who failed in life on account of his lack of will. The independent woman was so palpable an innovation that she was taken notice of and, most often, traced back to Ibsen's Nora. The real starting-point of it all, however, is to be found in Turgénieff's *Rudin*. Here, the hero is the fiery talker who kindles the inherent courage in Natasha and when she is ready to act refuses to lead her on or to join her. His talk about independence, liberty, and battle was only so many words. In *Elena*, Turgénieff developed this type of woman still further in the same direction. Even the incident about the love scene in the chapel during a tempest—used by Turgénieff himself again in a somewhat different form later on in *Spring Freshets*—was imitated by the novelists who took over their characters from Turgénieff, of course with many variations. The origin, however, of Mark Rutherford's *Clara Hopgood*—note the love scene *à la Dido* and Aeneas—of J. P. Jacobsen's *Marie Grubbe* and *Niels Lyhne*, of H. H. Richardson's *Maurice Guest*, etc., is evident. Directly or indirectly, in more or less varied ways, they derive from Turgénieff. In my lectures on this subject I also put Henry James's *Roderick Hudson* into this category, and so it was a satisfaction for me to find that the present author had

consulted James's reviews on Turgénieff and on this ground arrived at the same conclusion independently. There is so much to be said on this subject from the side of comparative literature—the present author on Henry James says nothing about that—that I must keep it back for a later occasion.

Another problem has also been left aside which has otherwise something to do with a larger section of literature, namely, the origin of James's "point-of-view" method. On a former occasion I ventured the hypothesis that it derived from the split in James's consciousness which seems to have been the result of his adherence from his infancy to two different kinds of outlook, so to speak—the American and the European. Miss Kelley has treated the formative period in James's life when this split took place but has nothing to say upon the question I raised.

The bibliography does not pretend to completeness and so there is not much use to add a list of works or articles to which references are missing in the author's book. Still I should like to draw attention to Lotte Borchers' treatise, *Frauengestalten und Frauenprobleme bei Henry James* (diss., Greifswald, 1929, printed at Berlin), which makes several interesting points. Edith Wharton contributed a paper on James's letters to the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1920. Marie-Reine Garnier wrote a note on James in the *Revue anglo-américaine* for August, 1925.

Some of the articles found in the author's list are, I am afraid, worse than useless, e.g., Tilley's "The New School of Fiction."

A useful list of little-known contributions to periodicals is found in Lotte Borchers' treatise.

GREIFSWALD

S. B. LILJEGREN

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*The Great Victorians*. Ed. by H. J. MASSINGHAM and HUGH MASSINGHAM. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1932. Pp. xx+556.

A book so well written and judicious as *The Great Victorians* would have told us much about the leading Victorians even if all of it had been written by one man; that it has enlisted the talents of forty reveals even more about present-day England. The very sympathy with which most of the critical and biographical sketches have been written brings out the difference between that liberal and Protestant age and its successor, split wide open to left and right. While Disraeli is praised (by Arthur Baumann) for his Toryism, and Morris (by J. Middleton Murry) for his communism, Gladstone is hardly more than defended. Newman, the Catholic, is lovingly portrayed in almost Newmanesque prose by Father d'Arcy; Butler, who wrote "the most biting satire upon Christianity" since the Middle Ages, is spoken of as "a first-rate classical scholar" with "important achievements in science" to his credit; but Macaulay, it seems, was saved because his Whig partisanship did not go the full length—it faltered at the theological, and he believed that the "Protestant compromise" was bankrupt, that the future lay between Catholicism and

rationalism. Even Dickens, we are told in a delightful essay by Chesterton (almost as good as his article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), was great "because he was traditional," because his religion was historic, because he would not abolish the Mass of Christmas, because he belonged to the "tradition of popular joviality rather than popular justice." "For he was the People, that is heard so rarely in England; and, if it had been heard more often, would not have suffered its feasts to be destroyed."

It is stimulating to have a Protestant, liberal age praised and criticized by sympathetic Catholics and atheists, Tories and communists; and it brings out the richness of the period that even when its dominant strain is played down there is still so much. And one rises from the book with a great deal of respect for England of our own generation. If liberalism is in abeyance, liberal culture is not, nor the spirit of liberality. In what other country could you get together a group of essays by reactionaries on the one hand and skeptics and radicals on the other, and still have the tolerant, friendly discussions of a good club, with the feeling that, after all, however opinions might differ, everyone had read the best literature, cared ultimately for much the same good life, had made of himself an educated gentleman capable of talking over important matters with his equals without threat of arrest?

But not all is health in the contemporary culture of even Britain. A few of the essays here deserve nothing less than a good old Victorian exhortation, such as Maginn might have dashed off for *Fraser's Magazine*. We have been told of pitiful industrial laborers who spend their days pressing down some mold to cut tin into a pattern, only to repeat the same motion again and again, with incredible monotony. But criticism, we had thought, still demanded skill, or at least an analytical mind, or biographical information, or common sense. Take Frank Swinnerton and Hugh Walpole, who write on Thackeray and Trollope, respectively. It was his school life among bullies that developed in Thackeray his "sensitive weakling's" style and philosophy. This is the psychological key to Thackeray. Trollope never ceased to be "the abused, mocked, misunderstood schoolboy." This is the psychological key to Trollope. Not that the identical keys open the same door—that would be to imply that the "psychology" of authors is a science. To Thackeray's sensitive vanity we owe his failure to attempt the heights open to him. To Trollope's timidity and "longing for affection" we owe something quite different, "that unflagging, unresting passion of work" that came from "a determination to risk none of the perils of the idle unguarded moment." Thackeray was "the most typically Victorian novelist of them all"; Trollope had the presumption to be "unashamedly Victorian." Anyone who wishes to become a critic in two lessons need read only these two essays. Having cared for (a) psychology and (b) typicality, the modern critic must next repeat (c) a certain ritual on sex. Thackeray, beyond a brief reference to a honeymoon, "does not otherwise concern himself with the institution of marriage. Children are in fact born, like little flowers." Such a supercilious and contemptuous remark shows an ignorance

of elementary botany that is indefensible and an ignorance of Thackeray's works that is incredible. Swinnerton, before he writes another article on Thackeray, might find it curious to read *Vanity Fair*. "All the good children in the English Victorian novel are rewarded with matrimony. Trollope knew, as well as Balzac did, that that was not the end of the question, but he writes 'Finis' across the page, winks at his other self, looks at his watch, and begins the next novel." Walpole has written a book on Trollope, so presumably he has heard of the Bishop and Mrs. Proudie, but then little slips of memory or statements deliberately intended to leave a false impression are slight flaws if the critic be well equipped with the proper keys.

After quoting a passage from Thackeray without understanding its devastating irony, Swinnerton has the *naïveté* to say, "In spite of that reticence, and that simplification of human nature which makes Thackeray's picture of manners appear mild before our greater sophistication . . . , the genius of the author [is], in my opinion, not to be questioned." Trollope, we are not surprised to learn, approved of a certain "simplicity of psychology." Thackeray was a gentleman, and this restricted his themes. Trollope knew a great deal more about life than he was permitted to tell. (Presumably Swinnerton and Walpole, themselves novelists, have told us all they know about life.) I do not wish to imply that Walpole learned what to say about Trollope by reading what Swinnerton said about Thackeray, or vice versa, but that both instead of giving us Trollope or Thackeray have merely set out to apply a mechanical formula. To anyone who has studied the Victorian novelists seriously—even to anyone who has just read Saintsbury's *Consideration of Thackeray*—it is perfectly clear after reading either one of the essays that the interpretation is so false as to be worthless. But the presumption and charlatanry of such methods in criticism become obvious when we see the same formula applied to two such different authors as Trollope and Thackeray, with the same results, expressed in the same kind of jargon, in two essays side by side.

But if this volume illustrates the absurdity of pseudo-psychological criticism and casts doubt on "our own greater sophistication," there is so much that is excellent that it takes rank among the very best books on the Victorian Age, alongside those of Cazamian, Dibelius, Elton, Neff, Wingfield-Stratford. It flashes different lights on the age which set all our modern problems and suggested most of our contemporary programs. It offers the expert not so much new knowledge as that wide-ranging discussion he so desperately needs. Lascelles Abercrombie on Browning is very salutary, and John Collier on Tennyson is at once the keen analyst and amusing writer. St. John Ervine's "General Booth" is perhaps best of all. At last it is beginning to be recognized that Pater was not a good stylist, Swinburne not a master of meter, Burne-Jones not a great painter. *The Great Victorians* definitely marks the end of the anti-Victorian Age, at least in England.

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